

*“Pittsburgh used  
to be  
the kind of place  
where you had to  
change your shirt  
twice a day,  
it was so polluted.  
No more.  
It’s a lot better  
since steel went  
down.”*

**But Pastor D. Douglas Roth  
is fighting for the workers  
who went down with it.**

**Page 16**



# THE STORY



Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos

## Marcos foes plan to escalate actions

By James B. Goodno

MANILA

After more than a year of marches and rallies, militant anti-government and labor activists here are preparing to escalate their campaign against President Ferdinand Marcos' regime. Their aim is to destabilize the Philippine's already troubled economy. Leaders of the Kilusang Mayo Uno, or May First Movement, (KMU), which is a left labor federation affiliated with the National Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, recently revealed plans to hold localized political strikes in conjunction with other opposition groups. And Roberto Ortaliz, acting secretary-general and first vice-president of the KMU, said his organization hopes to stage a nationwide general strike in the second half of 1985.

A November 26 strike held on the nation's second largest island, Mindanao, paralyzed much of the area. At least 300 persons were arrested in the Davao region during the strike's first days. Mindanao, a center of leftist opposition that includes the underground armed movement of the New People's Army (NPA) and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), was recently hit by a wave of assassinations of leading opposition figures. The killings have been attributed to rightist paramilitary groups, many of which reportedly receive government support.

Mindanao has also witnessed an upsurge in NPA activity. In early November the rebel group launched a new national offensive. Since then several large military outposts have been assaulted.

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile reported the first assault, saying some 200 rebels had attacked a fortified Philippine Army base in the province of Surigao del Sur. He announced that 37 guerrillas were killed during the encounter, along with 13 military men or dependents (who he claimed joined in the defense of the base). But rebel sources claimed that only four of their fighters were killed, along with many more military men. (In fact, military personnel in the field often dispute data released by their superiors in Manila, saying information on enemy casualties cannot be ascertained because the rebels rarely leave bodies behind.) At least twice since that time large NPA forces have assaulted important military posts.

Marcos opponents here see the strikes and other forms of non-violent civil disobedience and direct action as ways to bring about a political and economic crisis and divide what is left of Marcos'

support. At the same time they believe these tactics are the most effective way to strengthen the active opposition.

Most involved in the militant movement now see the legal broad national democratic movement and the armed struggle as parallel roads to the same end. Alexander Padilla, secretary-general of the Nationalist Alliance, recently told delegates to his organization's second national convention that while many may personally dislike the notion of armed struggle, they must recognize its existence and influence and not pass negative judgment upon its legitimacy. Many subsequent references to the armed opposition and the organizations supporting it drew applause from the delegates.

Members of the National Democratic Front (NDF), the outlawed coalition of opposition groups that includes the CPP and the NPA, believe the combination of armed and legal efforts will lead to crisis conditions within two years. NDF members believe an insurrectionary situation could exist in 1986. And several observers here told *In These Times* that they expect to see "daily street fighting" in Manila by 1986.

The NPA itself expects to reach a "strategic stalemate" with the armed forces around that time. During this phase, the NPA would be capable of tying down the armed forces throughout the archipelago with assaults similar to those launched in Mindanao. Both U.S. and Philippine government officials and agencies recently acknowledged that this level of fighting is likely within two years if something isn't done to counter the movement's growth.

Enrile estimates NPA strength at 8,000 to 8,500 armed regulars. Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, acting commander in chief of the AFP, recently agreed with U.S. government estimates, which put NPA strength at 10,000 to 12,000 regulars. Movement sources say the figure is 20,000 to 25,000, yet the NPA admits to having longarms for only half its regulars, some being archaic M-1s, carbines, shotguns and even singleshoot rifles. Most NPA weapons continue to be captured from their enemy and include a large number of U.S. M-16 armalites, M-60 grenade launchers and Belgian Garande rifles.

Some in the legal movement, while recognizing the existence and acceptance of the armed movement in much of the nation and restraining from criticizing it, would prefer to see its role minimized in the actual ouster of Marcos. They continue to hope that a steady stream of fundamentally nonviolent activities—such as strikes, tax and commercial boycotts, marches, rallies and possibly participation in elections—will be enough to bring down the regime.

The mass movement of the past year and the proposed escalation for 1985 presents a venue for cooperation between the various forces pursuing systemic change in the country. Nearly all the militant opposition forces agree on the course for the immediate post-Marcos or post-dictatorship era: the democratic coalition government scheme involving regional representation and participation by all the parties and organizations active in the movement to oust the regime.

The plan originated with the underground left many years ago (the 1973 formation of the National Democratic Front was the fruit of the early years of the underground's commitment to the idea), but has only recently started to become the focal point of a broad opposition. Aside from the Nationalist Alliance, the NDF and the CPP, groups supporting variations of the democratic coalition government include the main wing of the old Liberal Party, and the broad-based Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy, as well as groups like the League of Filipino Students, the KMU, the Movement of Attorneys for Brotherhood, Integrity and Nationalism, Inc., the Society of Professionals for the Advancement of Democracy and the Student Christian Movement. Even the primarily parliamentary Philippine Democratic Party has recognized the movement's potential and has remained friendly, often cooperative, even if they are still skeptical. Only the conservative United Nationalist Democratic Organization of Salvador Laurel and the splinter Liberal Party of Member of Parliament Eva Estrada Kalaw have remained entirely separate from the mass movement. (Militant activists admit to taking pains to isolate right-wing figures within the opposition while building bridges to the centrists who often work with the rightists.)

The democratic coalition government would presumably be dominated by representatives of labor and the peasantry, the two largest sectors of society, but it would be the venue for competing ideologies and interests. Though it would be supported by a mixed economy, some—most notably the CPP and the KMU—see it as a stage where the peaceful transformation to socialism could begin.

In any scenario including a general strike, labor is the critical sector. In the Philippines, where some 20 million of the 52 million persons are considered members of the workforce, there are three major labor centers, the KMU/Pangasinan Koalsiyon ng Mangangawa sa Labinini Karapin (Workers Coalition to Fight Poverty, PKMK), the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) and the Federation of Free Workers (FFW), the latter two being pro-government. The PKMK includes 400,000 KMU members among its 800,000 members. Individually, the TUCP and FFW are smaller than the PKMK, but their combined membership is more than one million. The influence of the KMU/PKMK militants stretches far beyond the confines of the PKMK. The KMU and the PKMK, along with members of underground workers groups, have assisted rank-and-file members of the other federations to organize strikes and campaigns against corrupt union leaders. Ortaliz recently said a new labor center that would include the KMU, the other PKMK unions and a significant number of TUCP and FFW break-aways will likely be founded in the coming year.

According to Nick Elman, a member of the KMU national council, the KMU draws much of its strength from workers in "strategic industries." It has many members in the communications, transportation, banking and other industries that are strategically located in society.

Already labor and opposition militants are calling the Mindanao strike a success. They know the course they are embarking on is fraught with danger and full of urgency—especially in light of Marcos' failing health and the often discussed, often denied, but very real possibility of a military coup should he become incapacitated. But they are also full of hope. For them, 1985 will be a most crucial year.

James B. Goodno writes regularly from the Philippines.



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# India accident raises question of corporate responsibility

By Richard Asinoff

**W**HAT DO POTATO FARMERS in Long Island, citrus growers in Florida and California and the residents of Bhopal, India, have in common? They are all victims of Union Carbide's production of Temik, a pesticide that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency once described as "the most acutely toxic chemical ever registered."

Temik's active ingredient is aldicarb, a potent chemical nerve poison 10 to 15 times more toxic than cyanide. When exposed to large amounts of Temik, a person is likely to experience dizziness, nausea, convulsions and eventual death.

"When Union Carbide first introduced Temik to Long Island potato farmers in 1975," wrote Janet Marinelli in May 1983 issue of *Environmental Action*, "the company assured regulators that this new insecticide would not only wipe out the black-and-yellow-striped Colorado potato beetle and its maggot-like companions, but would biodegrade and never reach the water table. For the next five years, Temik was planted in granular form along with potatoes throughout Long Island's East End farms. After widespread contamination of the groundwater became known in 1979, Temik was voluntarily removed from the market by Union Carbide and is now banned on the island."

The use of Temik has now been banned by counties in New York and California and, most recently, by the state of Rhode Island, following continued incidents of groundwater contamination and ill-health effects. Temik has been found to have contaminated groundwater in Wisconsin, Maryland, Virginia, Maine, Massachusetts, Washington and Florida. And yet, despite the continuing controversy over its use and the unanswered questions about its long-term health impact, Union Carbide is remarketing the pesticide in the U.S. with a new label warning of its dangers in certain applications.

In Bhopal it was an intermediate chemical, methyl isocyanate, used in manufacturing Temik and Sevin, that leaked from an underground storage tank and caused what's being called the worst industrial accident—more than 2,500 dead and tens of thousands blinded and disabled. But more than an industrial accident, Bhopal is a testament to how governments are more willing to protect the right of multinational corporations to produce a profit than to protect their people from toxic contamination.

As the death toll mounted in Bhopal and horrific images appeared on television news reports of crying babies, blinded by the gas and pointing to their throats that were burning, I kept thinking back to a comment that Jesse Jackson had made right before he announced his decision to run for president. "Suppose the Russians were doing to us what we are now allowing corporations to do to us," Jackson said. "We would rise up and declare war. Suppose the Russians had poisoned our earth and contaminated our

water. We would call that chemical warfare. We would make speeches and mobilize our army saying that Russia had no right to pollute our air and contaminate our water and poison our vegetation. In fact, nobody has that right."

## Pressing questions.

In the aftermath, everyone is asking the same questions: "Could it happen here?" "What can we do to protect ourselves?" "What should be the corporate liability?" But other important questions need to be answered: "Why were the pesticides Temik and Sevin being produced in India in the first place?" "What kinds of agricultural applications were they being used for?" "Were there alternative pest control methods that could have been applied?" "Where else does Union Carbide operate pesticide factories in the Third World?"

It's been 20 years since Rachel Carson published her expose of DDT, *A Silent Spring*, and yet DDT, banned in the U.S.

each year, according to the Oxford Committee on Famine Relief.

- In India, workers at an asbestos-cement plant that was designed by the Manville Corporation were exposed daily to hazardous asbestos material protected by only the most rudimentary safeguards. Outside the factory, children played in discarded piles of asbestos.

- In Indonesia, at a Union Carbide battery plant outside Jakarta, health and safety provisions at the plant were reportedly so poor that at one point more than half the workforce of 750 were diagnosed as having kidney diseases linked to mercury exposure.

- In Brazil, the factory town of Vila Parisi has become known as "the valley of death," where residents' life expectancy is only 30 years, half the national average, because of the smothering air pollution.

In the past, developing countries welcomed multinational companies and their

ural gas explosion before it, people rarely see the immediate effects of toxics that are poisoning the environment—toxics such as the estimated four billion gallons of heavy metals, pesticides, solvents and other hazardous chemicals that companies dumped into U.S. water and air during 1981.

It may take five, 10 or more years before people become ill after drinking water, breathing air or eating food contaminated with toxic chemicals, but the result is no less tragic. Talk to the families of the estimated 100,000 Americans who will die this year from work-related diseases, many of them chemically related. Talk to the residents of Woburn, Mass., where a cluster of child leukemia deaths has been tied to chemical toxic contamination of drinking water. Talk to the residents of Williamstown, Vt., where toxic chemicals trichloroethylene, benzene and naphthalene from an industrial dry-cleaning facility contaminated a local elementary school. And talk to the residents of Riverside, Calif., where contaminants from the Stringfellow waste dump threaten to contaminate drinking water for 500,000 people in Southern California.

Just as the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island rudely awakened people to the dangers of nuclear power, perhaps, too, the tragic Bhopal accident will force



...IF I SHOULD DIE BEFORE I WAKE,  
IT'S UNION CARBIDE'S NEXT MISTAKE.

is still used extensively around the world, particularly in Latin and South America, only to be brought back home here in imported food like bananas and coffee. This "circle of poison" has been well-documented, almost as well as the sordid tale how multinational corporations seek out "pollution havens" in developing and Third World countries and ravage these countries' natural resources while poisoning their people. As Bob Wyrick, in his 1981 series for *Newsday*, "Hazards for Export," reports:

- Pesticide poisoning has reached epidemic proportions in developing countries—an estimated 22,000 people die

**Last year alone there were more than 14,000 explosions, spills and accidental releases of toxic chemicals here.**

factories. Pollution was seen as a small price to pay for posterity, and criticism of development efforts was often viewed as a kind of imperialism. As Adeildo Martins de Lucena, editor of *Correio do Sul*, a newspaper in the Amazonian town of Vilhena, Brazil told a reporter: "We have the same right to destroy our wilderness as the Americans had in the Far West." The Amazon, he declared, "is not the lungs of humanity."

But now, faced with visible scars of resource depletion and feeling the scourge of poorly managed development, Third World countries are beginning to perceive environmental degradation and grinding poverty as two sides of the same coin.

## Confronting the perils.

The answer to the oft-heard question "Could it happen here?" is that it is already happening, but most people remain unaware of the extent of it. Last year alone there were more than 14,000 explosions, spills and accidental releases involving toxic chemicals. But unlike the tragedy in India and the Mexico City nat-

Americans to confront the peril of hazardous waste and toxic chemicals—and take action to protect themselves.

"Every community and every workplace," says toxics specialist Ken Silver at the Waste and Toxics Substances Project of the Environmental Action Foundation, "needs to be guaranteed the 'right to know.' They need to know what kinds of dangerous chemicals are being manufactured at factories in their town, what kinds of toxic chemicals are being stored on site, what kinds of wastes are going up the smokestack and being flushed into the water."

Workers, Silvers continues, also must have the right to know both the short-term and long-term health hazards from working with toxic chemicals. And residents—not just local health and law enforcement officials—must have the right to know what they should do in case of

*Continued on page 10*



# INSHORT

## Can Hormel take the heat?

Workers in the meatpacking industry have had more than their share of wage reductions in the past few years, with many concessions being negotiated by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). But when the George A. Hormel & Company, based in Austin, Minn., imposed a wage cut recently, the UFCW local at the Austin plant decided to fight back. Their proposed weapon is a broad-based campaign, masterminded by Jim Guyett, president of Local P-9, and Ray Rodgers, a New York labor consultant who was instrumental in the successful J.P. Stevens campaign. So far their recently unveiled plans include vigorous picketing and leafletting at Hormel and the major Minnesota bank where Hormel does most of its business, enlisting the aid of sympathetic locals across the country for like-minded efforts, and a 1,000-car caravan to First Bank's annual meeting in Minneapolis in April.

Guyette says the meatpackers have been enthusiastic and vocal in their support of the plan. They're now working under the pay cut—the average wage is \$8.25 an hour, down from \$10.69—while the legality of the cut is being reviewed by an arbitrator. The arbitrator's decision should come later this month, and if the ruling sides with Hormel, Guyette says the 1,750 workers are ready to go on the attack. He is telling the workers: "We'll have to stop the injustices the working man gets from the man in the pinstripe suit." Apparently they agree.

## Pittsburgh has no panacea

Four French steel workers just spent two weeks in Pittsburgh checking out claims by Socialist President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Laurent Fabius that the Pennsylvania steel city was a model of industrial reconversion that France should follow to create new jobs. Their verdict: Pittsburgh offers "absolutely no solution" to unemployment and jobless workers there are much worse off than in France, reports Diana Johnstone.

The four workers from the depressed French steel town of Longwy were struck by the "very great material and moral distress" of Pittsburgh steel workers who had lost their jobs. They found "absolutely nothing" being done to recycle jobless workers into new high-tech industries, as the French president had claimed after returning from an official tour "looking for ideas" in the U.S. Two of the workers belong to the CGT labor confederation, and two to the rival CFDT. They plan to work together to inform people back home that Pittsburgh is no model but rather a warning for French steel workers. "We are going to insist on no shutdowns before new industries are implanted," said Christiane Ulrich of the CGT.

## Sparts smash Feds

The Spartacist League (SL) vigilance has recently forced the FBI and the attorney general to sanitize its description of the Trotskyist organization. In the attorney general's guidelines for domestic security, the Sparts were once characterized as "not openly advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government at this time," a statement that the SL says subtly "attributes to us a conspiratorial putschism that is wholly at variance with our Marxist principles." In a lawsuit filed in a U.S. District Court in New York, the SL charged the FBI with fingering them as "terrorist outlaws." The FBI was forced to recant: the revised description of SL has had the rhetoric squeezed out. Now it forthrightly reads: "The Spartacist League, a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966." The new description even admits that an earlier FBI investigation against the SL was closed in 1977 with no criminal activity unearthed.

## Ho, ho, ho!

So you've managed to bundle up enough cash to buy that extravagant present for your friend who loves the great outdoors: a forest green Gore-tex, all-weather suit with zipper openings and weather flaps for the ankles. With a lifetime warranty, of course, and somewhere in the \$250 range. Well, don't buy it from Sierra Designs.

Sierra, a manufacturer of premium quality down jackets, tents and camping equipment—"ego intensive products," as the chairman of Sierra's holding company calls them—has decided to close its Oakland, Calif., plant in February 1985. One hundred workers will be left jobless as Sierra seeks to shore up its profits by using low-paid labor in the Far East and right-to-work states here at home. The workers in the Oakland plant—mostly women between the ages of 40 and 60 who earn an average of \$4.50 an hour—have joined with the statewide Plant Closures Project and several labor and religious groups to boycott the profit-making company and retrieve those fast-disappearing jobs.

...And one last holiday tidbit: According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the atrocious flop of the season, *Silent Night, Deadly Night*—a movie about a psychotic youth on a killing spree dressed as Santa Claus—was originally named "Slayride." Season's greetings.

—Beth Maschinot

## INS sued by immigrants for using children as bait

**SAN DIEGO, CA**—When Orlando was six months old, his father was murdered by a right-wing death squad in El Salvador. Three years later, his mother, facing a new round of death threats, placed Orlando in a relative's care and illegally crossed into California. She found work as a domestic in Los Angeles and began saving money to bring her son to the United States.

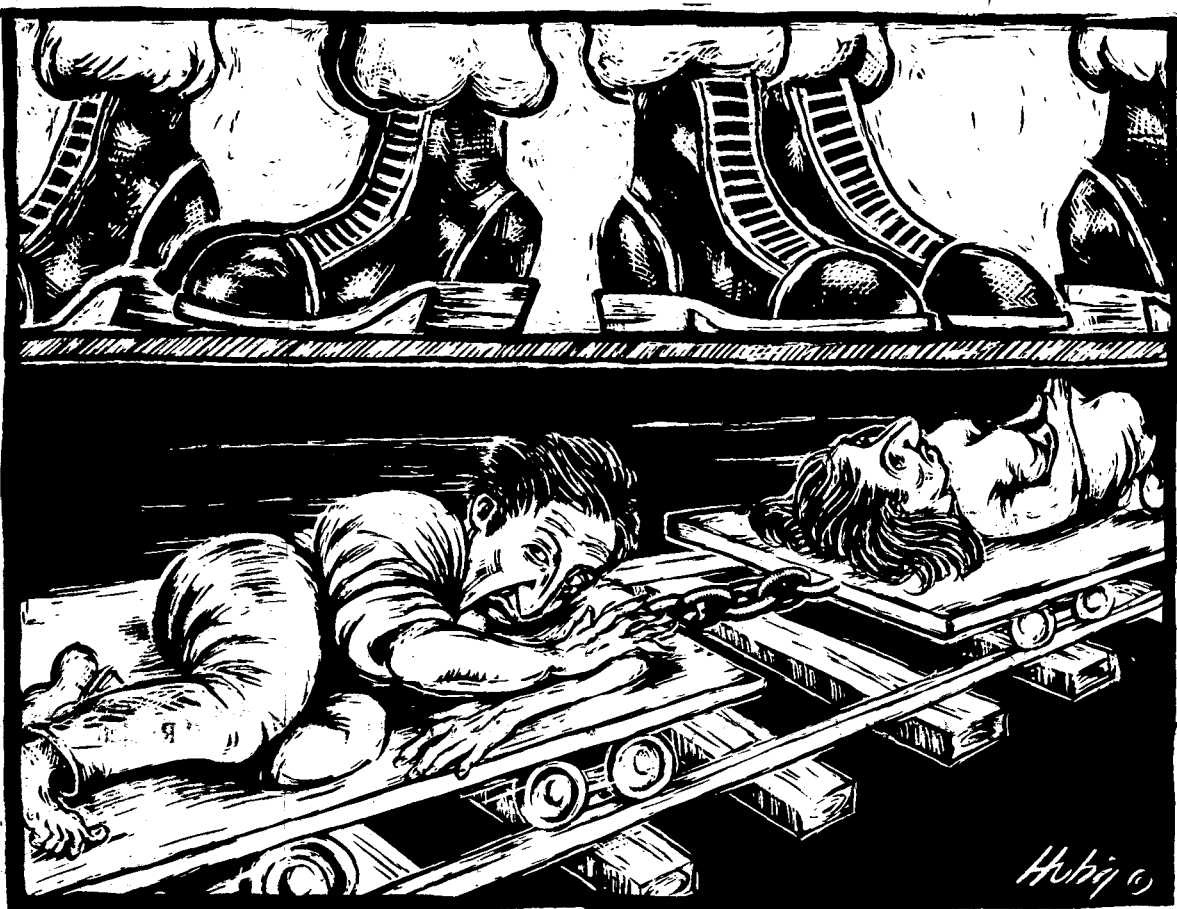
comparison. They say they are concerned only in making sure that unaccompanied children are released to responsible adults who do not endanger the children's well-being. About 60 such children are detained each month in the INS' western region, which includes California, Hawaii, Arizona, Nevada and Guam. Harold Ezell, INS western regional commissioner, says that in

ent that contained identifying information and authorization. But now the INS has tightened the policy throughout the western region.

The lawsuit has just begun its slow trail through Federal District Court in San Diego. Bahan hopes it will ultimately force the INS to stop interrogating parents or at least revise agency policy to allow parents to authorize their attorneys to claim their children with a letter. Meanwhile, Orlando faces deportation proceedings that could return him to El Salvador.

—Kathryn Phillips

*INS widens its net to force more deportations.*



After a year's separation from his mother, 4½-year-old Orlando was on the verge of being reunited with her last August when U.S. Border Patrol officers arrested him with a group of Central American children at the U.S.-Mexico border near San Diego. The children had been led to the U.S. by a man later charged with immigrant smuggling.

Orlando's mother faced a soul-wrenching decision. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) would not let her join her son unless she did one of two things: she could either appear in person at the San Diego INS office to claim her son, and face deportation herself, or she could go to court and turn legal guardianship of her son over to someone else, who could then fetch him.

Fortunately for Orlando's mother—whose name is being withheld to protect her from possible retribution in El Salvador—a non-profit legal service for immigrants intervened. After 17 days in INS custody, Orlando and his mother embraced in a tearful reunion, his mother free for the time being from any deportation threat.

Now Orlando is part of a class action lawsuit that charges that the INS is using children as hostages to lure illegal immigrant parents into INS offices.

"What is the difference between physically torturing someone or holding their child hostage?" asks Della Bahan, an attorney for El Rescate, the non-profit legal service representing Orlando and his mother.

INS spokesmen scoff at the

practically all those cases, a parent arrives at INS within several days of the child's arrest.

The hitch is that once the parents enter an INS office, the agency subjects them to questioning to determine not only if the children are theirs, but also to determine if the parents are in this country legally. The children already face deportation proceedings. By questioning the parents, INS is able to identify and begin deportation proceedings against illegal immigrant parents as well.

The INS tactic amounts to cruel coercion, says attorney Bahan. By interrogating the parents INS exceeds its immediate legal interest of ensuring that the immigrant child will appear at future deportation proceedings, she says. Also, INS forces parents to waive their right to protection against self-incrimination.

Orlando's mother ultimately avoided direct contact with INS by giving legal guardianship of Orlando to Bahan, who picked up the child from INS officials in San Diego. But that sort of legal maneuver costs money that most immigrant parents don't have, Bahan says. Also, many parents aren't aware of this option before they rush into an INS office to rescue their children.

INS officials strongly defend their rigid guidelines for releasing children to their parents or a legal guardian. However, the policy has not always been uniformly applied. Until recently, a parent's attorney could claim children held by the INS in Los Angeles with a simple letter from the par-

## Bay area strike ends

**SAN FRANCISCO**—After a 13-week strike that the San Francisco Central Labor Council, the ILWU, and the Teamsters Union had promised to support by actions "up to and including a general work stoppage," last week restaurant workers here voted reluctantly to ratify an agreement containing many of the take-aways they had fought against.

The agreement between the Golden Gate Restaurant Association (GGRA) and Local 2 of the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union provides for the return to work of the strikers. But it also contains a two-tier wage provision, a 90-day probationary period before new employees are eligible for benefits, increased requirements to qualify for health and welfare benefits, and elimination of the right to bid on work stations by seniority. On October 23, Local 2 members had voted down a contract proposal containing these same take-away provisions by a 95 percent margin.

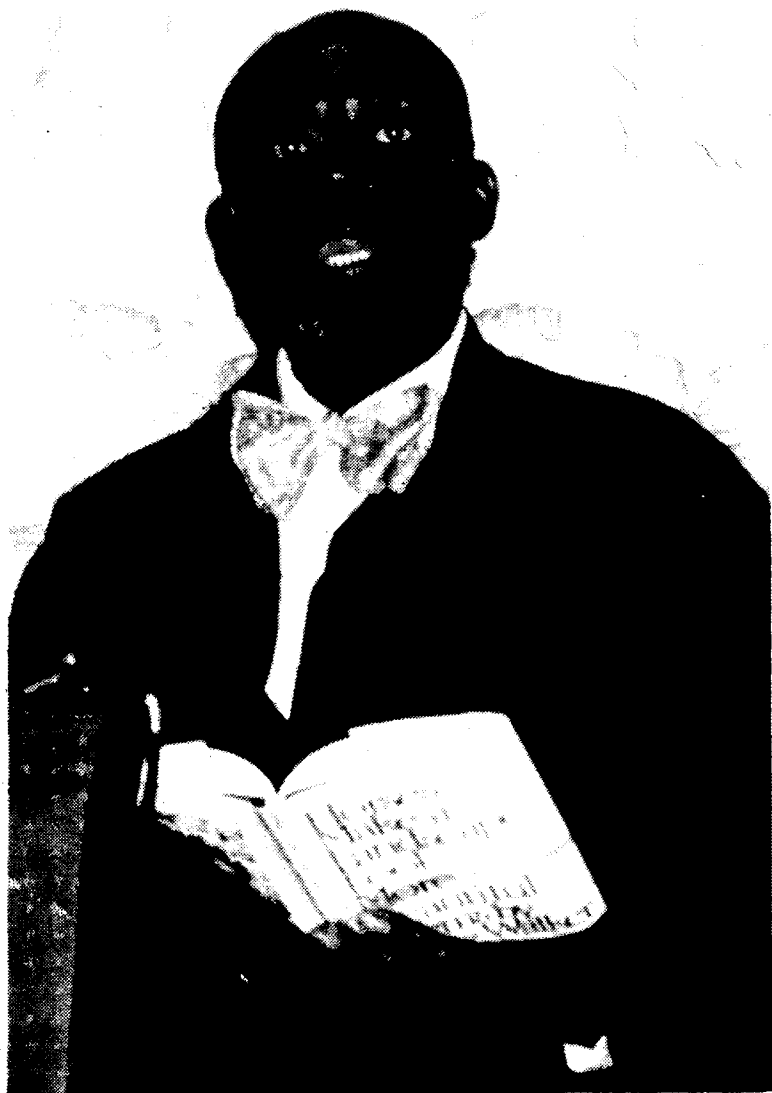
The GGRA was jubilant. "We've gotten everything we've wanted," gloated Peter Sealy, president of the employers association.

How did the GGRA win out against a determined rank and file that enjoyed widespread support from many Bay Area unionists?

After the membership rejected



Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and telephone number.



**BOSTON**—Mel King, community activist and former mayoral candidate, reads from an Alice Walker book at a vigil before the South African embassy here. King was arrested for trespassing last week, bringing the total of Boston anti-apartheid arrests to 16.

the proposed take-away contract on October 23 (see *In These Times*, Nov. 7), the GGRA intensified its campaign to take back what the union had won three years earlier. Claiming that restaurant owners had legal obligations toward the workers hired as "permanent replacements" during the strike, the employers' association presented the union with a list of more than 300 strikers it refused to take back. The GGRA's strategy worked: the union negotiators agreed to most of the concessions it wanted in exchange for a return to work agreement for the strikers.

The agreement allows the restaurants to retain the "permanent replacements" while providing for a phased-in return to work of the striking union members over a two-month period. The Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union pledged up to \$100,000 to compensate the employees for any overstaffing resulting from this arrangement.

Local 2 President Charles Lamb, who negotiated the agreement along with Vincent Sirabella of the International Union, described the return to work agreement as a victory. But those opposed to the agreement pointed out that the \$100,000 promised to the employers by the International could be put to better use as strike benefits to make it possible to hold out for a better contract.

Before the vote Lamb cautioned members that a rejection of the proposed contract would also mean a rejection of the return to work agreement. While conceding that the contract contained some take-aways, he termed it "still the best restaurant contract in the country." Picket lines were wearing thin, despite help from members of many other unions, and it had become clear to the members that their international

union wanted this strike ended. The contract was ratified 376-45. Members of the elected negotiating committee—three of whom were excluded from the final phase of the negotiations—claim that the strike was "sabotaged" from the start by the international union with Lamb's collaboration. Seven of the 10-member committee belonged to an opposition group called Solidarity, formed last April before the contract expired. The group criticized the selective target strike strategy that the union chose to follow.

According to Ted Zuur of Solidarity, the picket captains and the people on the picket lines were in favor of pulling out all of the restaurant workers. But Lamb and representatives of the international union defended the selective target strategy. "They were afraid of the strike getting out of their control," said Zuur, who feels that members were demoralized by the union officials' apparent lack of interest in the workers who were expected to stay on the job.

The strike of the city's largest union (17,000 members) was a test of the labor movement's ability to resist another major defeat. Throughout the strike, a group of independent restaurant owners negotiating separately with the union said that Local 2's struggle with the GGRA would only be the first round. The owners—known as the Montobbio group, after the union-busting lawyer representing them—publicly declared their intention to take back what the union had won in 1981. "The union took too much last time," declared Montobbio to a television audience a few weeks ago. "Just because the union sits down at the negotiating table doesn't mean it's going to walk away with more."

—Karen Paull

**NEW HAVEN, CT**—When Yale University's striking clerical and technical workers (C&Ts) went back to work December 5, they weren't following the lessons in any labor history textbook. Instead, they adopted a tactic unheard of in modern union organizing: suspending their strike for the holidays while threatening to return to the picket lines January 19.

Has their union caved in? Or has it found a novel tactic to prevent Yale from starving it out?

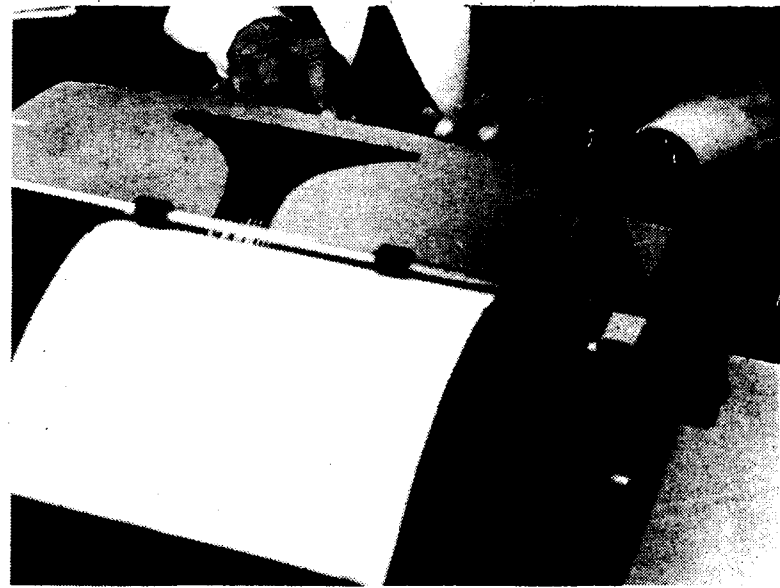
As usual, neither the union nor the university can tell for sure. Since its formation 19 months ago, Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees hasn't been able to go by the book. Because it's too busy writing it.

More than two months into their strike, Yale clerical and technical workers are still breaking all the established rules, returning to work not in defeat but rather, they say, as part of an overall bargaining strategy.

But Local 34 members voted to resume their jobs only until Yale students return from winter recess and things get busy again—unless, of course, Yale and the union somehow reach an agreement in the meantime. Union members insist they're "taking the strike inside" and collecting paychecks when Yale would rather starve them out. Then they're going right back to the picket line.

One organizer called it "guerrilla warfare." Roulette may be more like it.

By now, observers of Yale's 19-month-old "pink-collar" union have learned to distrust first impressions. When Local 34 unveils one of its bizarre tactics, as it did last week, the pundits have no precedent to fall back on in predicting what



Steve Cagan

## Briefing: 'Tis the season to return to work at Yale

different from traditional union shops, and Local 34 membership encompasses so many different kinds of jobs, that there are no such things as rules—only exceptions. Those exceptions form the basis of the union leadership argument in introducing the "home for the holidays" concept to the membership: the employees are returning at a dead time of the year when the university doesn't need them. And Yale would rather see them shivering on the streets, with no students around to feel sorry for them, than have them inside collecting paychecks. The returning strikers would act as an "invading army," intimidating their bosses and their non-striking colleagues by their very presence, and converting some people to the cause in the process.

As usual, the membership voted resoundingly in favor of

vehemently opposed the idea at first. It would be crazy to go in and clear away the backlog of work that had accumulated during the strike getting Yale ready for the spring semester, they said. One angry striker distributed a letter denouncing the proposal as a betrayal of the strike's feminist principles and an example of manipulation by the union's male leadership.

The debate continued at the closed-door two-and-a-half hour leadership meeting called to determine the fate of the plan. But by the time it came to a vote, 800 cast their ballots for the proposal and only 250 opposed it.

"Some people are still angry, but they'll get over it," said striker Carol Johnson, one of the many who changed their minds in favor of going back to work. "That's how it is with our union."

—Carole and Paul Bass



Der Spiegel

will happen next. Nor can they rely on official explanations from either the Yale administration or union spokespeople.

Unlike most unions, Local 34 is 82 percent women. And unlike traditional strikers seeking bread-and-butter wage or benefit increases at their plants, its members have pinned their efforts to a national movement whose rallying cry is "comparable worth"—the concept that employees in traditionally female jobs should be paid the same as men for jobs that require comparable levels of skill and experience.

That cry has been heard in the public sector before, but never at a university. The structure of Yale workplace is so

the proposal. But reaching that decision took some doing.

The back-to-work proposal spurred some highly animated discussions on picket lines all over campus. Many C&Ts



## NUCLEAR FREEZE

Campaign knows  
it's on thin ice

By Joan Walsh

ST. LOUIS

IT'S ALWAYS HARD TO PINPOINT the precise moment of conception, whether for human beings or their political movements. But for the nuclear freeze, a probable moment was Randall Forsberg's December 1979 speech at a Mobilization for Survival dinner in Louisville, Ky. She was expected to discuss the international trade in conven-

demise are somewhat exaggerated. But more important than its size was the movement's almost unanimous willingness to broaden its basic goals and tactics. The freeze must stay at the top of the agenda, the consensus was, but it has to be placed back in the foreign policy context it was separated from five years ago—an anti-interventionist, pro-disarmament context. And while legislative and electoral work will be the campaign's chief strategies, direct action, even civil disobedience, won surprising support

since he only ambivalently supported it.

Away from the presidential race, the freeze could take comfort in aiding some Senate race successes and restricting Republican victories in the House. Freeze Voter '84, the movement's fledgling electoral arm, raised almost \$3 million and activated 20,000 volunteers behind eight Senate candidates and 35 House contenders. Of that group, four won Senate seats and 22 were elected to the House—but the latter number included only one challenger, Illinois' Terry Bruce. It was a crazy 10 months, rife with national-state conflicts (some of which emerged at the conference), organizational confusion and funding crises, but on balance Freeze Voter's debut was impressive.

## Widening the movement.

All that said, there's plenty of room for criticism. The freeze movement's central dilemma is that it has established a national consensus that nuclear war must be prevented, but not about how to do it. That confusion has allowed voters to

tury imperialistic view of world power politics, and it's wrong." After that statement she received the loudest applause of the night. "I'm glad you agree with me," she responded. "I was a little nervous about this speech."

There was nothing particularly new in the speech. It was the broad outline of Forsberg's defense policy writing since the late '70s. And judging from the delegates' reaction, many had already reached the same conclusions themselves. Its importance was in validating a broader scope for a heretofore single-issue movement.

"My thrust was that the issue is more complicated than the freeze, more complicated than we've thought," Forsberg told *In These Times* later. "We still need the freeze as a first step, but we have to support other measures, to limit conventional war as well as nuclear."

## 1985 strategies.

What strategies will proceed from that broadened scope is less clear. The centerpiece of this year's freeze campaign is the introduction of a comprehensive, bilateral freeze bill that would suspend funds for weapons testing, production and deployment. The campaign will also support the passage of a bilateral nuclear test ban, including warhead testing as well as missile flight testing. And it will continue to lobby for a congressional cut-off of MX production funds.

At the "second-priority" tier, the national freeze staff will monitor and "selectively" work for a wider range of legislative initiatives, including a no-first-use pledge, military budget reductions, economic conversion and a halt to SLCM production. But the movement's broader focus was most evident in the expansion of its support for anti-intervention in Central America initiatives. Last year's conference authorized local freeze groups to support anti-intervention efforts, ratifying a de facto grassroots decision. This year the conference went further, passing a resolution opposing U.S. support for the Nicaraguan *contras*, military aid to El Salvador and Guatemala as well as U.S. Troops and bases in Honduras.

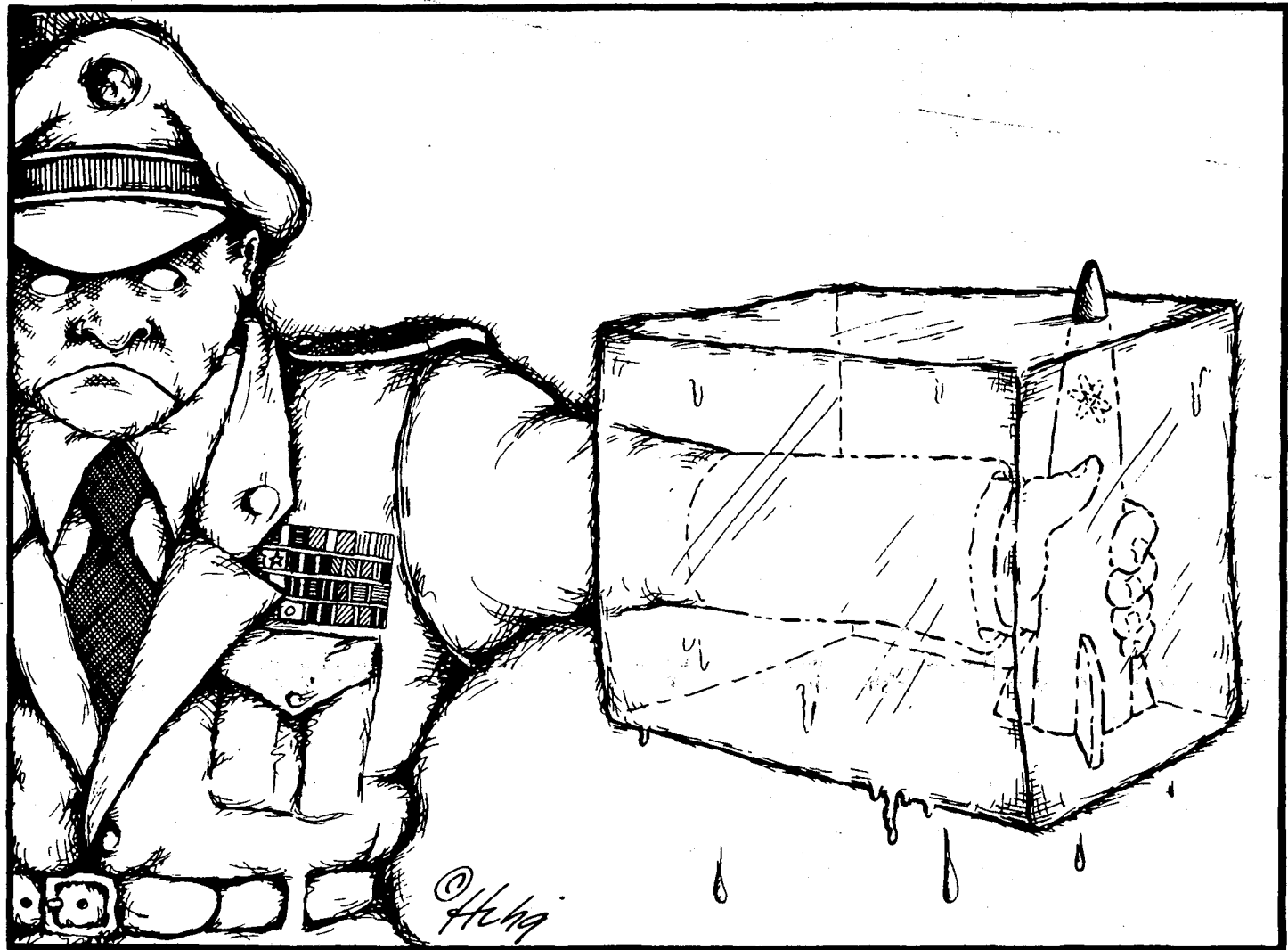
Perhaps more significant, the delegates endorsed the Central American contingency plan prepared by members of the U.S. religious community, which calls for a combination of lobbying, protest and civil disobedience in the event of a U.S. invasion of Central America. The plan got the conference into the movement's serious debate over direct action, which has divided prominent freeze backers from other peace movement leaders, and, to a degree, from their own grassroots constituency.

Direct action may be the freeze movement's most troublesome post-election thicket. The campaign has achieved its widespread credibility by its support for relatively attainable political goals, not by moral posturing. And it has acquired some degree of political clout because it has reached into the U.S. mainstream, beyond the already converted. It could sacrifice that mainstream acceptance by participating in direct action.

Yet its inability to achieve its congressional goals last year or to translate pro-freeze sentiment into a mandate for pro-freeze candidates this year, have led many to believe new methods are necessary to convey the "urgency" of the issue to the public and politicians. A Direct Action Task Force established last year concluded that the freeze should co-sponsor several national protest events, some of which would involve civil disobedience. Participation was crucial to the freeze's coalition work, the task force concluded, since so much of the peace movement, especially the religious community, has reached the conclusion that lobbying and electoral work are not enough to end the arms race, given the current congressional situation.

But the campaign's executive and strategy committees opposed making civil disobedience a part of the national campaign strategy, leaving the decision to participate in individual actions at the local level. A strategy group synthesized delegates' comments about direct action

Continued on page 8



tional weapons, her field of expertise. But like other arms control and disarmament proponents, Forsberg was concerned about the decline of a genuine U.S. peace movement in the post-Vietnam era. She had an idea about how to revive it.

The notion was simplicity itself. Addressing the venerable remnants of the once-strong antiwar movement—members of the Mobilization, the American Friends Service Committee, the War Resisters' League and other groups—Forsberg advised putting aside their laundry list of military and foreign policy demands to unite behind a basic first-step goal: a mutual, bilateral and verifiable freeze in the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons.

Her audience was unexpectedly responsive: Had she written the idea down? She hadn't, but she did. Her 1980 "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race" went on to become the most successful political rallying cry of the decade.

Perhaps too successful. In five years, the freeze proposal has won the support of 75 to 80 percent of the public, opinion polls say, a phenomenal educational achievement. And yet, in the November 6 election Forsberg herself termed "the final big test of the freeze movement," the outcome was dismal. Most disturbing was the fact that half the people who told pollsters they supported the freeze also voted for Ronald Reagan, the movement's chief target for defeat.

That paradox influenced everyone's agenda at the fifth national freeze campaign conference in St. Louis held December 7-9. The largest conference to date, with more than 700 delegates, the gathering proved reports of the freeze's

from the campaign's grassroots.

There was an occasional discordant tone of triumph along with the honest reassessment of the movement's goals throughout the weekend. Given the election results, does the freeze have anything to celebrate? To be fair, one has to grant the campaign some significant political victories (if only to then move on to discussing its failures).

Its foremost achievement has been forcing the nation to ponder what was for 30 years unthinkable: the reality of nuclear war. And having thought about it, overwhelming numbers of people believe it must be prevented. A recent Public Agenda Foundation study coordinated by Daniel Yankelovich, "Voter Options on Nuclear Arms Policy," concluded that 80-90 percent of voters believe "unequivocally: nuclear war is unwinnable, horrible, unsurvivable." Contrasted with the early '50s, when Americans polled believed nuclear weapons protected peace by two-to-one margins, the report found that the U.S.-Soviet nuclear buildup "is eroding the average voter's sense of security."

The freeze undeniably deserves credit for that opinion shift. It can also claim credit for another shift, in Reagan's rhetorical approach to arms control and the Soviet Union. The Reagan who campaigned and won re-election in 1984 talked a different nuclear and military policy than the 1980 candidate and first-term president, whose early pronouncements on winnable nuclear war gave urgency to the freeze campaign. His conciliatory UN speech and talk with Andrei Gromyko were the backdrop of an election in which the "peace" candidate, Walter Mondale, could never articulate a case for the freeze

back the freeze but vote for Reagan, who hasn't declared a war, for all his bellicose rhetoric, and has restored a comforting, if illusory, sense of military security to the nation. It also allows cynical politicians to endorse the politically popular freeze while favoring a new generation of nuclear weapons that defy it.

What was remarkable at the conference, though, was the breadth of belief that the key to deepening understanding of and support for the goals of the freeze is widening the movement's scope, to address the foreign policy presumptions that have brought about the deadly nuclear stalemate. The bellwether was Forsberg's keynote address, which could be as influential in expanding the freeze movement's goals as her 1980 "Call" was in limiting it.

She recounted her 1979 Mobilization speech outlining her original belief that only by simplifying its demands could the peace movement build a wider constituency. But five years later, she acknowledged, that wider constituency offers only shallow support to the freeze. It has learned to abhor the use of nuclear weapons, but is strangely ambivalent about their possession. What it wants is peace, yet it has a disquieting suspicion that deterrence has effectively worked, to prevent both a nuclear exchange as well as conventional warfare between the superpowers.

Thus the freeze movement must address the problem of conventional war and has to stand opposed to its most common cause—superpower intervention in the Third World. Opposing intervention is crucial for the freeze, not because it will cause nuclear war, she said, "but because it reflects a 17th, 18th, 19th cen-



By Thomas Kiely

The mid-November summit between the British and Irish prime ministers, Margaret Thatcher and Garret FitzGerald, ended so hopelessly that many in Ireland wish the talks had never been held. The two-day summit gave both governments the opportunity to discuss the situation in Northern Ireland and to agree on a framework for a common analysis of the problems.

At the end of the summit the leaders released an ambiguous and inconclusive communique. Then Margaret Thatcher and Douglas Hurd, her new Northern Ireland secretary, violated their prior agreement with FitzGerald and revealed conference specifics. One Northern Irish politician described Thatcher's tone and message as "arrogant, insulting and embittering."

Irish observers say that Anglo-Irish relations have reached their lowest mark in years. Thatcher claims to be astonished by the acrimony.

In the weeks preceding the summit, expectations in Ireland were high. FitzGerald planned to champion the concerns and suggestions of the New Ireland Forum Report, a moderate nationalist document. The Forum delegates who produced the report claimed to represent the consensus of three-fourths of Ireland's population (the Catholics), but they excluded Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing and all of Ireland's left parties, except the conciliatory Labour Party.

The Forum recognized that political arrangements must be freely negotiated between those north and south of the border, and—a big step for nationalists—that the Unionists' identity must be accommodated if there is to be lasting peace. (Protestants, one-fourth of Ireland's total population, are a two-thirds majority in the north. They see themselves as British, wish to remain British citizens and are opposed to the Catholic state in the south.)

The Forum's preferred solution is a unified Ireland, but a federal-confederal government or joint Dublin-London responsibility for Northern Ireland were also mentioned as possibilities. As Sinn Fein noted, the Forum report reflects the views of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), the largest of Ulster's nationalist parties and Sinn Fein's rival among Catholics.

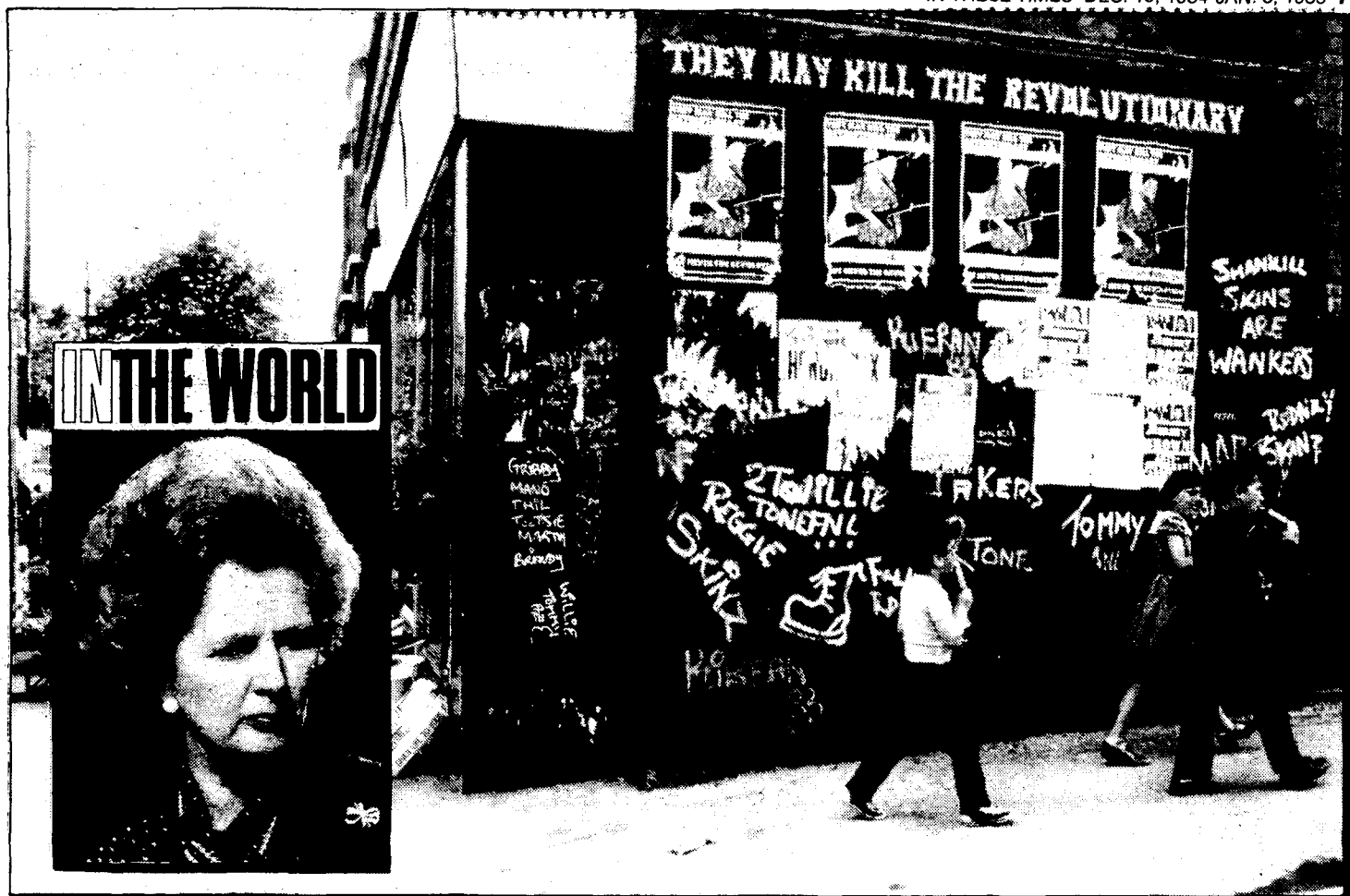
FitzGerald told his party at their annual conference that the summit offered the first real hope of progress on the Northern Ireland problem. His optimism was encouraged by James Prior, Hurd's predecessor, who seemed inclined toward joint Anglo-Irish institutions for Northern Ireland. But FitzGerald emphasized that he expected no breakthrough at this summit, merely the foundations for one in the future.

In the days before the talks FitzGerald hinted that the British might be tougher on him than he had thought, but nonetheless he remained upbeat.

### The Ulster factor.

Ian Paisley, leader of Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), led a demonstration in London days before the summit, to remind Thatcher that Ulster is British, and that any attempt to allow Dublin to meddle in Ulster's affairs would be "resisted to the death." Paisley represents the hardest Unionist line, but most Protestant politicians were apprehensive about the talks.

They need not have been concerned. Before the conference Douglas Hurd told a British reporter, "We are going to give [the Irish government] the absolute minimum—just enough to keep them happy." And at this meeting, Thatcher, herself a strong Unionist, reiterated the British position that Northern Ireland would remain in the Union until a majority of its citizens choose otherwise. Thatcher challenged every assertion the Irish delegation made. When FitzGerald emerged from the talks he wore a dissimulating smile and pronounced that the two sides had made substantial progress. In the communique, the two governments promised to talk again at the be-



## EUROPE

# British and Irish summit talks fail

ginning of the new year.

FitzGerald needed to minimize the huge differences between the two governments. The communique's vague wording and his optimistic assertions were attempts to defend his political future. One cruel irony of the Anglo-Irish relationship is that while Northern Ireland tops Ireland's political agenda, it is at the bottom of Britain's. Trouble in Ulster can cripple an Irish government or break a politician's career. But British governments have been largely uninterested in the province, and Thatcher is the least interested of all.

So when Thatcher and Hurd brusquely dismissed the New Ireland Forum Report and denied that alienation of Catholics in Northern Ireland is a serious problem, FitzGerald seemed genuinely hurt. He castigated the British prime minister for her "gratuitously offensive" language. Upset not only with her insensitivity to his position and her betrayal, FitzGerald was disturbed that she could so curtly brush away the Forum Report, with which FitzGerald's party, Fine Gael, has identified itself.

Unionists, on the other hand, are jubilant. Although still apprehensive about similar future meetings, they understand they can rely on Thatcher.

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In the Republic of Ireland the mood is pessimistic. Charles Haughey, the opposition party leader, predictably blasted FitzGerald for his failures. Unpredictably, the country seems to agree with Haughey. Commentators in both countries refer to FitzGerald as Maggie's floor mat. And FitzGerald continues to argue the summit was a success simply because it took place.

### Britain holds all the cards.

Unionists refuse to bend to Catholics in any way, continue to discriminate against them and practice a one-sided justice. Britain won't challenge Unionist intransigence, which encourages it.

Of course, Ireland must make a commitment to secularize their state before they can honestly suggest unification to a

million non-Catholics. (Divorce, contraception and abortion are outlawed in the Republic; the Church dominates education and culture, and limits the social politics of the country.) The Republic cannot hope for more than a consultative role in Northern Ireland.

But only Britain can make the first move. Ulster does not have a government. It is a British colony ruled by British force and Unionist terror. But the British cannot fathom how to get out, even if they chose to do so. Conservatives will insist on holding their colony as long as the Republic of Ireland remains a neutral nation. (The issue was raised again during the Falklands war. NATO considers neutral Ireland a possible security threat; British military concern with Ireland, then, is analogous to the motivation behind the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.) If the province is ever to have a valid government—whether as part of the United Kingdom or a unified Ireland, or even as a tiny country on its own—Britain must begin to take the troubled area seriously. Ulster needs jobs and housing; discrimination must be confronted; the security forces must be reformed; and Unionists must accept democratic institutions and recognize the Catholic minority's right to their own identity and to a share of power. ■



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# Freeze

Continued from page 6

and other proposals over the weekend, and amended most of the strategy proposals to support only legal actions.

But in the Sunday vote, delegates endorsed an April 20-22 congressional lobby-in and deleted a restriction to "legal actions" in the proposal. The campaign will also participate in an action at the Nevada Test Site, with civil disobedience a central component, that the Franciscan brothers and other religious communities have planned for August 6 to 9 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And in supporting the Central American Contingency Plan, the delegates also dropped the word "legal" to endorse the entire action, civil disobedience and all. A motion toward the end of the day that would have put the campaign on record as not endorsing, supporting or encouraging illegal action failed decisively.

Direct Action Task Force co-chair Jim Rice of the Sojourners religious community called the votes "evidence that the freeze movement is further along than

I thought." Christopher Paine of Physicians for Social Responsibility, who had argued throughout the weekend against direct action, except in situations where political goals are clearly defined and attainable, thought the vote was a mixed mandate that would please direct action proponents without alienating the unconvinced.

Outgoing Freeze Campaign National Coordinator Randall Kehler, concerned that associating the freeze with direct action "could make it hard for people working in conservative areas," thinks the conference endorsements left room for local autonomy. "The Nevada Test Site is a good action, led by responsible people who live there," Kehler said. "It's all a matter of how you do it."

Whatever the merits of direct action itself, the debate did point up a chasm between the movement's leadership and its grassroots that was also evident on other issues. Proposals to create a somewhat more centralized decision-making structure and make the campaign a membership organization got bogged down procedurally, but there was also some tangible distrust. "I think the sense was that people want to maintain chief authority in the national conference. They're not entirely trusting of the leadership," noted executive committee member Bernice Bild of Illinois.

The other troublesome trend was the continuing lack of minority participation evident at the conference. The faces on the dais over the weekend were white, with the exception of United Farm Workers leader Cesar Chavez. The Rev. Jesse Jackson had been invited to address the

event, but campaign leadership balked at paying for his bodyguards and the idea was dropped. Frustration in the campaign's Third World caucus surfaced when the delegates made an undebated decision to move most of the current Washington staff, including the minority outreach coordinator, back to the St. Louis Clearinghouse to strengthen the campaign's grassroots connections. The decision ignored the advice of the Third World caucus, which argued that minority outreach was best based in Washington.

Other caucus suggestions, including a greater campaign emphasis on military budget cuts and working with the Rainbow Coalition on peace and economic issues, hadn't even made it into the strategy paper.

In separate motions, the conference reversed the Washington decision and authorized links to the Rainbow Coalition, but resentment lingered. "This campaign is ignoring minority voters to concentrate on the safe white middle class," argued strategy committee member Tony Crayton of the Jobs with Peace campaign.

In addition to reaching the black community, Jackson's presence would also have linked the campaign to a national left constituency, a connection from which the freeze still shies. That the Freeze Caucus at July's Democratic Convention was the last to endorse Jackson's anti-military platform planks was embarrassing, but showed the extent to which the movement's leaders want to stay clear of identification with any faction or ideology. That's part strategic political decision, part a conceptual one.

Even Forsberg's broadest-ranging disarmament vision downplays the economic causes of superpower competition and U.S. intervention in the Third World. Her formula for preventing intervention and conventional warfare neatly bypasses the traditional military and political decision-making elite—and the question of whether they have a stake in intervention beyond national security—by appealing to voters, who, her analysis assumes, don't want to see interventionary wars.

Others are not so sure. Daniel Ellsberg, for one, thinks the peace movement will have to talk about the reasons for intervention or run the risk of finding the public supports limited incursions on national interest grounds. "The gas lines taught people the need to protect 'our' resources," Ellsberg believes. "We have to talk about another way of arranging the world."

But these are pretty heady subjects to be discussing in the context of the (to this point) single-issue freeze movement. For now, the campaign's increased breadth will present sufficient political difficulties. "What's exciting is that people really want this next step," says freeze leader and longtime peace activist Pam Solo. "It's not that the freeze was too simple—it's what provided people an entry point into discussing the war system. Now our job is to push to be just two inches in front of our constituency."

Measuring those two inches accurately could be the movement's most critical challenge yet.

Renata Rizzo and Greg Mitchell of *Nuclear Times* contributed to this story.



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## GREECE



# A Greek mystery: will U.S. pull out military by 1988?

By Diana Johnstone

ATHENS

**W**HEN GREEKS SPEAK OF the military threat from the East, they do not mean the Communist nations that lie to the North. They mean Turkey. And Greece's special situation is that it is bound into a military alliance, NATO, which not only includes but actually favors its main potential adversary, Turkey.

For all their other fierce political differences, Greeks agree on the dangers of conflict with Turkey in the Eastern Aegean sea. For most it is clear that the Turkish threat depends on tacit American backing, even instigation. Disagreements arise only over how to deal with this predicament.

Greeks saw further confirmation of the constant U.S. tilt toward Turkey in a November 14 statement made by Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle in Ankara. He said American aid to Turkey did not correspond to Turkey's importance in the region and would be increased next year. On a past visit to Greece, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger explained the American preference for Turkey by pointing to a map and saying: "It's simple: Turkey is here, and Greece is here." Turkey's strategic position is even more appreciated since the Iranian revolution.

Anti-American and anti-NATO feeling (the same thing, since NATO is the U.S. in Greece) was clinched by two related tragedies: the seven-year dictatorship of the colonels and the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. "Our people consider the American establishment responsible for the colonels' junta," says professor Christos Marcopoulos, the nuclear scientist and former European member who heads the peace movement KEADEA, close to the government of Socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. Besides, he said, "we see every day that the Americans have no friends—only interests."

Thus in Cyprus, the Americans let Turkey grab 38 percent of an island with 80 percent Greek population not because they love Turks more than Greeks but because the rump "Turkish Republic of North Cyprus" has given the U.S. permission to establish a base there for the Rapid Deployment Force—something the non-aligned Cyprus of Makarios would not have allowed. The Americans have carried on the longstanding British policy of keeping Cyprus split from Greece in order to use it as a military base. Greeks see the establishment of a U.S. RDF in Turkish-occupied Cyprus as a grave development that makes a solution to the Cyprus problem impossible in the foreseeable future. Cyprus' position off the coast of Syria makes it an attractive base for intervention in the Mideast.

Closer to home, Greece is alarmed by Turkish claims to rights to the seabed and airspace surrounding Greek islands in the eastern Aegean. After seizing part of Cyprus in 1974, Turkey went on to claim rights in the Aegean on the grounds that it is on Turkey's continental shelf. Then in 1977, NATO Commander in Chief Bernard Rogers proposed an integrated regional air space, which would mean that in wartime Greece would lose control of her air space in the Aegean. Gen. Rogers has also declared that NATO has nothing to do with disputes between Greece and Turkey. Greek political observers consider all this part of the complicated bargaining, or "cat-and-mouse game," being played between Athens and Washington.

A major stake in this game is the continued presence of U.S. military bases in Greece—between 40 and 50, according to peace movement sources, depending on what is considered to constitute a base. The U.S. bases are felt by most Greeks as a limitation to their national sovereignty, a continuation of the foreign intervention they have been subjected to ever since the Turkish conquest.

"We consider that our struggle should start from the struggle of this people for independence," said Marcopoulos, explaining the meaning of his organiza-

tion's name, Movement for National Independence, World Peace and Disarmament (KEADEA). Ever since the beginning of the Greek independence struggle in 1821, "we have never been entirely independent," he said. "We always were under occupation or a heavy influence like occupation, from Russians, Austrians, British, French, Italians, then in the 20th century the Germans, then the Allies, and after World War II we were passed to the Americans who are now the country's protectors."

"We want to have Americans here as friends," Markopoulos said, "but they got the bases not by convincing the Greek people but behind their backs, in agreements between the U.S. and a minority and from the civil war."

## The base question.

Greek public opinion is strongly hostile to the bases, and one reason for the 1981 electoral victory of PASOK (the Panhellenic Socialist Movement) was its promise to throw out the bases and generally put Greek interests at the center of Greek policy, never mind what the Americans say. But given the relationship of forces between Greece and the U.S., this is no simple matter. Papandreou's great skill is to fill the gaps between what was promised and what he can deliver with exhilarating rhetoric.

Papandreou's supporters say the base question was "closed" by last year's agreement between Washington and Athens. The bases are "terminable" when the agreement runs out at the end of 1988 and will then be closed down within a short period of time, they say. But others, to the right and left of PASOK, doubt this will happen. The agreement's wording is ambiguous enough to allow conflicting interpretations.

Four of the bases are major installations the Pentagon surely has no intention of easily relinquishing. The biggest is the Souda Bay complex on the island of Crete that provides facilities to the Sixth Fleet and is linked to a NATO missile firing range. Also in Crete, there is a big reconnaissance and air base at Iraklion. The other two major bases are near Athens, at Hellenikon and Neamakri.

Greeks have no way of knowing what goes on in these bases. The PASOK government was the first to reveal that the U.S. had nuclear weapons there. The U.S. brought nuclear weapons into Greece in 1959, but all previous Greek governments denied that there were any nuclear weapons on Greek soil. One of the first statements of the Papandreou government after it took office three years ago was to call for unilateral removal of nuclear weapons from Greece, but so far it is not clear how and when the

Americans are to be persuaded to remove them.

The Greek peace movements and government call for a "nuclear-free Balkans." In effect, that would mean removing nuclear weapons from Greece and European Turkey. Everyone agrees that the Communist countries of the Balkans are already nuclear-free. This is indeed the Americans' argument for not making a "unilateral" sacrifice.

Greece has three main peace movements. The oldest is the Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace (EEDYE) founded in 1955 as part of the Soviet-backed peace campaign in the first Cold War. EEDYE remains close to the orthodox Greek Communist Party (KKE) and the World Peace Council.

Markopoulos explains that with the rise of new threats of war in the early '80s, some people saw the need to take the peace issue away from the Communists. Thus KEADEA was formed, close to PASOK and in support of the Papandreou government. KEADEA helped form the new network of the International Peace Communications Center (IPCC) outside the old World Peace Council.

At the same time, a third and smaller Independent Peace Movement (AKE) was formed with backing from the little "Greek Communist Party of the Interior," whose challenge to the pro-Soviet KKE has not had much success, especially since PASOK is there to take in disgruntled ex-Communists. AKE is close to British END and stresses the connection between peace and human rights.

Last week KEADEA hosted the 2nd Athens Conference for the Denuclearization of Europe attended by 120 representatives of peace movements from the Helsinki agreement signatory countries, aimed at furthering East-West dialog. The conference was carefully prepared by representatives of Eastern and Western peace movements and centered around three work groups on (1) the political situation in Europe in connection with the Euromissile deployments; (2) problems connected with creation of a nuclear-free Europe and (3) confidence and security building measures in Europe, such as no first use and the freeze.

Markopoulos stresses that Greece is obliged by its geographical position to seek world peace and friendship with everybody. "As neighbors we have three Communist countries and Turkey," he points out, implying that in case of war Greece would be isolated. And abandoned—if historic precedent teaches anything. "In World War II, we had the British here. When the Germans came, they abandoned us. They left in 18 days. They did nothing for us against the Germans."

Last month Papandreou visited Syria and Jordan and promised to unveil a new Mideast peace plan at the European Community leaders meeting in Ireland.

*Continued on following page*

**The U.S. bases are felt by most Greeks as a limit on their national sovereignty and a continuation of the foreign intervention that plagues their history.**



Continued from preceding page

this month. A few days later he played host in Crete to a surprise meeting between French President Francois Mitterrand and Libyan leader Kadhafi to try to work out the Chad conflict. These spectacular gestures of regional peace making enhance Papandreou's popularity to the extent that they convince Greeks that he is giving their country a new importance in world affairs. PASOK reminds people that before Papandreou, Greece was "the smallest country in the world" internationally.

### The U.S. attitude.

Greeks complain that the U.S. refuses to recognize their concerns. Typically, in a November 20 speech to the elite Propeller Club in Athens, U.S. Ambassador Mont-eagle Stearns demanded admiration for the U.S., whose foreign policy—he said—inevitably reflected the democratic nature of the society that produced it. (Greeks who know their own history could counter that ancient Athens was democratic at home but expansionist and even tyrannical in its imperialist foreign policy.) Stearns mentioned Greece only once, to deplore that the demonstration three days earlier in Athens "showed how much misunderstanding of the U.S., willful or not, still exists in the rest of the world."

This was the annual march from the Polytechnic college to the U.S. embassy in commemoration of the Polytechnic students whose protest movement against

the colonels' dictatorship was brutally put down by the army on Nov. 17, 1973. The junta fell the next year after provoking the disastrous Turkish invasion of Cyprus. The Polytechnic revolt is cherished as the last important popular movement in Greece and the most important act of resistance to the military dictatorship. The mass march through the streets of Athens ends before the U.S. embassy as a reminder of American responsibility for the junta. Prominent this year were banners calling for removal of U.S. bases, departure from NATO and an end to U.S. aggression in Nicaragua.

The least one can say is that Greek anti-Americanism was not invented by Andreas Papandreou. He exploits it skillfully, but some disgruntled critics, left and right, doubt that he is for real. Papandreou is a charismatic leader who inspires strong feelings—negative as well as positive.

The prime minister runs a one-man show. He came back from Syria with an agreement to establish a train ferry between the Syrian port of Latakia and the central Greek port of Volos that would allow traffic between Europe and the Mideast to bypass Turkey. Papandreou's supporters hailed this deal as an historic gain for Greece. His detractors doubt that it will ever materialize.

A knowledgeable conservative observer noted that for all his speeches against the Common Market, Papandreou's policies actually favor big business that alone can hope to benefit from Greece's membership in the European Economic Com-

munity. "He's right, in a way," the observer added. "You can't enter the EEC with nothing but small shops." Thus Papandreou is discreetly backed by sectors of big business as well as by the KKE.

Some of Papandreou's statements that cause greatest surprise in the West, such as his recent criticism of Polish Solidarity and praise of Gen. Jaruzelski, are interpreted as indirect moves to secure Communist support for his government even if its economic policies squeeze the working class. Moscow looks on Papandreou as the best thing possible in Greece, and thus the Moscow-aligned KKE has no choice but to support him.

All agree, grudgingly or not, that Papandreou will win another four-year mandate in elections next fall. But then what? The right is already complaining that since Papandreou will win, but without an absolute majority for PASOK, he will become a political prisoner of the KKE. This is a theme that can be used to raise the political temperature.

Toward the end of a second Papandreou term, the U.S. base agreement will come up for renegotiation. Probably the best Papandreou could hope for would be to swing a deal that would obtain enough benefits for Greece in return for an extension of base rights to enable him to claim a sort of victory.

The Marxist left current in PASOK has its own analysis. It foresees a split, with the party's right wing breaking off to join with New Democracy in a conservative coalition in time to take charge of negotiating the U.S. bases agreement. ■

# Hazards

Continued from page 3

an accident, and the right to inspect factories to make sure that the community's health and safety is not being threatened.

### The right to know.

The Bhopal disaster is a shocking example of why the community's right to know must be respected. While workers at the Union Carbide plant, according to newspaper reports, had been told what to do if there were a gas leak—check wind direction by looking at the windsocks above the plant, and run the other way—no one told the residents of the shantytown next to the factory what to do. Nor were there any windsocks in the community.

Citizens in 19 states and more than 40 communities have already enacted laws and ordinances for the "right to know" about toxic chemicals. At their best these right-to-know laws require companies to:

- label containers in the workplace with their chemical identities;
- educate and train employees to recognize and prevent hazards;
- make that same information available to local citizens.

After four years of opposition from the Reagan administration, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), the law regulating the production and disposal of hazardous waste "from cradle to grave," was finally authorized—with stringent provisions covering underground storage tanks like the one that malfunctioned in Bhopal. Still languishing in Congress, though, are bills renewing Superfund, the Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, and the Toxic Substances Control Act, as well as the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA) that regulates pesticides.

After Bhopal, hopefully there should be no argument from David Stockman and the Office of Management and Budget about whether the important health and safety regulations in these laws are cost-effective.

It's not just a matter of enacting new laws but also of making sure that the existing laws are enforced. According to the public watchdog group, Environmental Safety, only 70 of the roughly 40,000 pesticides in the marketplace have been reviewed by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), as required by Congress. Many of these products were approved long before there were adequate testing procedures or health and safety standards. Now the agency is supposed to be determining if any of these products may pose a risk to public safety. Clearly, the potential looms for another EDB (ethyl-ene dibromide).

As reports from India indicated that the chair of Union Carbide had been arrested (then later released) for criminal negligence, the strong words of Ira Reiner, the former Los Angeles City Attorney who headed a special task force to crack down on illegal toxic dumping, came to mind: "All that is needed is the will to enforce the law," he said. "Corporate executives [responsible for illegal dumping] need to hear the slam of the jail door behind them."

Richard Asinof is an editor of *Environmental Action* magazine based in Washington, D.C. Portions of this article were adapted from an op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times*.

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By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

**T**HE FIRST PEACE TALK, HELD on October 15, between the Salvadoran government and the opposition was hopeful. But the second, held on November 30, was disappointing. Both sides emerged from the Catholic religious retreat in Ayagualo with little to show for their 12 hours of debate. At that time they could not even agree on such a minimal accord as a Christmas truce.

Few observers here ever believed that the peace talks would lead to any quick solutions to the war. Yet many now doubt President Jose Napoleon Duarte's commitment to the entire dialog process.

Duarte took a much harder line in Ayagualo than he had during the first talk in La Palma. Observers say that the right has consistently pressured him to back down from any substantial progress toward peace. Immediately after the second talk, Duarte, flanked by the government negotiating team, went on government TV to denounce the rebels for trying to destroy the dialog through their "intransigent" position—or, in other words, their unwillingness to accept his by-now familiar proposal to surrender.

Although Duarte undoubtedly would like to be remembered as the man who brought peace to El Salvador, his more immediate goal is less grandiose: he desperately wants to win control of the Legislative Assembly from the right in the upcoming March elections. So he will likely continue to wear two hats at once, trying to refrain from further alienating the right while at the same time giving those in the center and on the left the appearance of progress toward peace—at least until March.

Despite the remote possibility of any real negotiated solution with the FDR-FMLN opposition forces, the right has reacted to the dialog with alarm. Even though it's probably just part of Duarte's election strategy, short-term success in the peace talks could cost the right control of the Assembly—control that they've maintained since it was formed in 1982. Dialog brings other risks to the right—legitimacy for the rebels and their demands, which strike directly at the power of the oligarchy and the military.

"The guerrillas are gaining political ground. Their recognition is greater than ever as a result of La Palma," rightist leader Roberto D'Aubuisson said just before the second talk. "Duarte's image may be temporarily elevated, but when the people see nothing is coming of it his power will be flayed."

While the tremendous public support for dialog makes it difficult for official organs of the right, like the private sector umbrella group the National Association of Private Enterprise (ANEP), to publicly oppose peace talks, they warned that negotiations were just a political tactic of the guerrillas and firmly opposed any ceasefire, which they said would only give the guerrillas "breathing space."

Less official right groups took even stronger action. Rightists were rumored to be contacting military officers to get them to oppose the talks and, according to one observer, to stage a coup.

Although most of the high command—including Defense Minister Vides Casanova, Deputy Defense Minister for Public Security Lopez Nuila (who is on the government's negotiating team) and Chief of Staff Adolfo Blandon support Duarte and the dialog process, many middle-level field commanders are less firmly behind him. Rightists, many of them from the same graduating class as ex-Major D'Aubuisson, reportedly control six of the country's important barracks, including three of the U.S.-trained elite battalions. Before the second peace talk, D'Aubuisson made the rounds of the barracks, supposedly in preparation for the March election. But these "courtesy calls" undoubtedly touched on the peace talks, and a few observers told *In These Times* that D'Aubuisson has been one of the right's intermediaries with the military to limit and oppose dialog.

Although the right must be pleased

## EL SALVADOR

# President Duarte's new balancing act



Duarte is currently under attack from both the right and the left.

with Duarte's hard line on the talks, one observer said that the private sector knows that it can buy the army if it needs to. He said that some rightists have boasted that with \$5 million they can pull off a coup; \$250,000 would merely be put in the bank accounts of key officers.

According to several observers, the peace talks and the recent death of Col. Domingo Monterrosa (which many officers believe was caused by a bomb placed in his helicopter in late October) have upset the precarious political balance in the armed forces. Monterrosa, considered the army's best field commander and chosen to run the war in the conflict-ridden eastern half of the country, was influential among the colonels and supported Duarte.

Previously the army had been content to "lay low in the background. It was content to be the ultimate power," said one observer. Its domain was clearly defined and "giving El Salvador the appearance of a working democracy was seen to be in the best interests of the institution."

Now things are much more volatile, and rightist sectors of the military who have never particularly liked Duarte or wanted peace talks are warily watching his moves with new distrust.

Just as the peace talks highlighted blatant contradictions between Duarte and the armed forces, they have also spurred divisions in the private sector.

A new rightist group has emerged that calls itself the Domingo Monterrosa Patriotic Front. It surfaced with a communique denouncing the rightist business group ANEP for initially collaborating with Duarte's peace commission.

The Front, which some describe as a new death squad, called the meeting that Duarte held with ANEP on October 19 just after the first peace talk, "a shameful day in the history of Salvadoran free enterprise." They denounced the ANEP for not challenging Duarte when he said, ac-

cording to the communique, that he would rewrite the constitution and change the reforms if he won control of the Assembly. Although this statement is more likely a reflection of ultra-rightist paranoia than Duarte's true intentions, it is a strong indication of what the right fears most. Soon after the communique was circulated, ANEP members withdrew from the government's peace commission.

### Left alienation.

While winning plaudits from the right, Duarte's hard-line position has angered the left wing of his support base. Just before the talks, the centrist umbrella union and peasants' coalition that supported Duarte in the election served notice once again that they were unhappy with the pace of the talks and felt that the government wasn't approaching the dialog in a serious manner.

The Democratic Popular Unity (UPD), which provided important campaign assistance to Duarte's successful bid for president last March, warned that they might withdraw their support for the next elections if Duarte does not make significant progress toward peace. Yet they really have no alternative but to fundamentally support his efforts on behalf of the Christian Democratic Party since the other parties are even farther to the right.

Still, peace remains the crucial issue to most Salvadorans. Duarte will need to raise popular expectations for peace before the elections without alarming the right so much that they might try to launch a coup. But Duarte and the other Christian Democratic leadership are practiced populists and can likely wend their way through the obstacles.

One possible scenario is to have another planning meeting or two in January and early February. At that time the two sides could schedule a more dramatic, high-level meeting that both Duarte and Ungo and top guerrilla commanders could

IN THESE TIMES DEC. 19, 1984-JAN. 8, 1985 11

possibly attend just before the elections. If Duarte plays his cards right, he could then possibly be in the position to advance a temporary cease-fire that would extend to the elections and help Duarte win control of the Assembly.

Whether that occurs depends to some degree on the FDR-FMLN and their analysis of whether a Christian Democratic Assembly would give Duarte more support to negotiate a political settlement. Some sections of the left had hoped for an ARENA victory during last March's elections, believing Duarte was a populist front man for the same economic interests who continue to rule the country. Now, the opposition might similarly see that they could gain ground if the government is divided between Duarte's control of the executive branch and the Assembly controlled by the right. The crucial question for the left is whether Duarte is actually negotiating in good faith.

For the left to agree to cooperate in Duarte's electoral strategy they would probably demand certain concessions and assurances—perhaps even as much as a role in the government. There would be nothing unconstitutional, for example, about Duarte appointing an opposition member to a cabinet post. The rebels are also eager to stop the regular army attacks against their civilian supporters in the zones they now control. Because Duarte continues to deny that this is happening, he is either ignorant of the situation or complicit. Either way, the opposition may not believe that Duarte has the power to either negotiate or stop the army from its aerial bombardments and scorched-earth sweeps.

Duarte claims that the country has fundamentally changed since the 1979 young officers' coup. He says major social reforms are in place and that the army now represents popular interests. Duarte asserts that the oligarchy has been forced out of power and that El Salvador is living under a democratic system based on election.

But the FDR-FMLN doesn't agree. "The government makes arguments that the conditions of poverty and of misery and of repression that existed in 1979 don't exist now in 1984. This isn't true," said guerrilla commander Facundo Guardado (of the Chaletenango-based Popular Liberation Forces, FPL) after the November 30 talk. "What family lives better than it did in 1979? What peasant, what worker, what market vendor lives better? The objective conditions haven't changed."

### Rebel proposal.

During the second talk the rebels presented a proposal that was fundamentally similar to one that was circulated last January, centering on a coalition government of broad participation that would purify the army, make reforms and prepare for general elections. The new proposal, however, went further than the previous one, separating the demands into three phases. In the first phase a national forum would be created, encompassing different political and social groups excluding the ultra-right. In this phase, the rebels also propose an end to the state of siege, an end to human rights abuses and a judgment of those responsible for the war as well as an end to U.S. military intervention.

The second phase involves forming a government of "common accord" that would continue all the previous measures as well as set up an electoral calendar, arrange a verifiable cease-fire and start to resettle the displaced population.

During the third stage a formalized government would draw up the constitutional reforms necessary to implement the social and political reforms. It would then submit those reforms to a national referendum and also form one army out of the two opposing forces. Finally, it would conduct general elections.

Duarte dismissed the rebels' proposal as "anti-constitutional and anti-historical." "This proposal reflects a lack of comprehension of the changes that are occurring in this country," he said.

He ridiculed the idea of integrating the two armies, adding that it showed that

Continued on page 22



**I**N THE YEAR OF GEORGE ORWELL, the inevitable question, which has inspired innumerable conferences, panels and collections and given a spurious air of urgency even to the most banal disquisitions on social trends, is whether our society has begun to resemble the one depicted so memorably in *The Last Man in Europe*, retitled at the last minute 1984.

Those who answer it in the affirmative point to the "history of the increasing erosion of civil liberties in the U.S.," in the words of the Orwell calendar designed by Howard Levine and Tim Keefe which lists important infringements of personal freedom, culled from the history of the last three decades, for every day of the current year.

On the other hand, there is an abundance of other evidence that is hard to reconcile with such an interpretation: the sexual revolution; the moral climate of hedonism and permissiveness; the decline of ideological fervor and political militancy; the growing disrespect for all forms of authority; the weakening of national loyalties; the spread of political apathy and cynicism. On the strength of such evidence, we might be justified in concluding that the national state, at least in the West, will find it increasingly difficult to mobilize a constituency for any purpose, constructive or murderous. In the U.S., Vietnam and Watergate have discredited large public enterprises and left behind them a kind of ideological immunity.

It is difficult to imagine Americans in the last years of the 20th century throwing themselves into the rituals of collective ideological hysteria described in Orwell's novel, such as the Two Minutes Hate, or losing themselves in mystical adoration of a leader. It is equally hard to imagine children turning over their parents to the thought police. Not that family loyalties in our society are necessarily strong; but political loyalties are even weaker.

The concept of totalitarianism first took shape, in the late '30s, in the writings of those who had begun to question both the socialist credentials of the Stalinist regime and the Marxist interpretation of fascism as the final stage of capitalist decay. Thanks to the Moscow trials, the Spanish Civil War (in which the Soviet Union helped to abort a democratic revolution led by anarchists), and the Nazi-Soviet pact, Orwell, Arthur Koestler, Franz Borkenau, James Burnham and other former Marxists had come to see Stalinism as a new form of domination: neither a return to an older type of autocracy nor the perverted socialism characterized by Trotsky as bureaucratic collectivism but a system of total control that sought to regulate not only the individual's public life but his inner life as well, thereby abolishing the very distinction between the public and private realms and between society and the state.

Meanwhile, it was becoming increasingly clear that the Nazi regime in Germany could not be understood, as Orwell himself described it as late as 1939, during his brief flirtation with Trotskyism, as a further "development of capitalism" or even as a revival of old-fashioned autocracy. "The terrifying thing about modern dictatorships," Orwell wrote a few weeks later, "is that they are something entirely unprecedented."

Not only did they enjoy a good deal of popular support, but their use of terror, culminating in systematic programs of mass murder, seemed to go far beyond anything required by the practical exigencies of gaining and holding power. One of the earliest students of National Socialism, Hermann Rauschning, described Nazism as a "revolution of nihilism," a movement without "fixed political aims" and based only on "impulse."

#### Burden of our times.

Another observer, Hannah Arendt, argued that totalitarianism differs from earlier forms of autocracy, because it carries to its limit the logic that can dismiss

whole categories of people as historically superfluous. Thus the death camp, the ultimate expression of totalitarianism, seeks not so much to exploit the labor of a captive population as to provide the most vivid demonstration of its dispensability. In her attempt to identify the "burden of our times"—as the book was called when it appeared in England—Arendt repeatedly emphasized the danger that "political, social and economic events everywhere are in a silent conspiracy with totalitarian instruments devised for making men superfluous."

In a world threatened by unemployment, automation and overpopulation, her warning remains as important as ever. What no longer seems timely or useful is the insistence that totalitarianism represents a "novel form of government," in Arendt's words. The experience of the last 30 years suggests that totalitarian regimes are inherently unstable. It thus calls into question a number of the asser-



*It is above all consumer culture that makes it hard for us to take an interest in the future.*

tions advanced by postwar theorists of totalitarianism.

In 1984, Orwell stressed the totalitarian state's invulnerability to opposition and historical change. He described a ruled party that has brought history to an end. Unlike earlier ruling classes, it cannot be overthrown, not only because it exercises total control over thought but because, as an "adoptive" elite, it no longer rests on the principle of hereditary succession. It doesn't matter whether Big Brother ac-

tually exists, according to Orwell, because "Big Brother is the embodiment of the Party."

Like Arendt and others, Orwell underestimated the totalitarian state's dependence on charismatic leadership. In Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia and Mao's China, there was never any doubt about the existence of Big Brother; nor did totalitarian regimes survive the death of those leaders. Far from serving as the embodiment of the party, all three of these men, moreover, did everything they could to subvert the parties that brought them to power.

After the death of Stalin and Mao, the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and China accordingly repudiated the cult of personality, denounced the crimes perpetrated by these men—objectionable precisely because they disrupted the normal operations of the party—and instituted a bureaucratic type of government that no longer relies on mass executions, show trials and a far-flung network of concentration camps. Still autocratic and oppressive, those regimes no longer practice systematic terror; nor do they exercise the kind of total control over every phase of social life that was the hallmark or at least the inspiration of the Stalinist and Maoist movements.

Totalitarian movements, it appears, depend not only on heroic leadership and universal terror but on permanent crisis and permanent revolution, conditions impossible to sustain year after year. No government can remain indefinitely indifferent to practical economic necessities, which eventually set limits to the power of totalitarian regimes to redefine reality in accordance with ideology. According to Orwell, the party's ascendancy in Oceania rests in large part on its capacity to obliterate "external reality." But the reality of food shortages and flagging industrial production eventually intrudes on the delirium of total power and forces a grudging acknowledgement of the real world.

#### Power for its own sake.

Orwell himself, in the last of his highly ambivalent attempts to come to terms with the work of James Burnham, appeared to admit the likelihood that even the most despotic regimes would eventually have to compromise with reality. In 1946, Orwell reconsidered Burnham's theory of the managerial revolution in the light of a second book, *The Machiavellians*, in an essay entitled "Second Thoughts on James Burnham," later reprinted as a pamphlet under the title, "James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution."

In this revealing document, which criticizes Burnham for advancing many of the same ideas Orwell himself worked into 1984, he objects, among other things, to Burnham's implication that "anything can become right or wrong if the dominant class of the moment so wills it." This, of course, is exactly what happens in Oceania, where "reality exists...only in the mind of the Party."

The general point of this essay is that in spite of his ostensible opposition to totalitarianism, Burnham, like other intellectuals, worships power for its own sake. In the 1946 essay on Burnham, Orwell argues that "power worship blurs political judgment" by encouraging the "belief that things will happen more quickly, completely, and catastrophically than they ever do in practice."

"Burnham's writings," he complains, "are full of apocalyptic visions. Nations, governments, classes and social systems are constantly described as expanding, contracting, decaying, dissolving, toppling, crashing, crumbling, crystallizing and, in general, behaving in an unstable and melodramatic way. The slowness of historical change, the fact that any epoch always contains a great deal of the last epoch, is never sufficiently allowed for."

Here again, Orwell accused Burnham of the very habits of mind also exempli-

fied in so many ways by 1984. His novel exercises the same "hypnotic effect on the reader" that Orwell the essayist objected to in Burnham's geopolitical fantasies. It builds up the same "picture of terrifying, irresistible power." The fantasy of total power proved stronger than his critical reservations, partly, no doubt, because fictional form by its very nature leaves more room for imaginative license. But even the 1946 essay contains more than a hint of the apocalyptic style of thought Orwell correctly identified in Burnham's work but failed to recognize in his own.

In the very same passage in which he questions the stability and permanence of totalitarian regimes, Orwell argues that the Stalinist government "will either democratize itself, or it will perish." Like Burnham, he ignores the possibility of an outcome less decisive and "melodramatic": an oligarchical bureaucracy neither democratic nor totalitarian, which suppresses political opposition and free speech without eradicating every vestige of private life or common sense; which responds to internal and international pressures when it has to; which draws heavily on professional expertise and therefore allows professionals a limited autonomy instead of trying to supervise every detail of their work or to abolish the very concept of scientific neutrality; and which maintains itself in power, in short, not through terror and ideological fanaticism but through its control of rewards and punishments and, above all, through its control of the political agenda.

The ambiguities in Orwell's thought, in 1984 in particular, derive from his attempt to address two quite different issues at the same time. One set of issues concerned the emergence of large-scale economic planning, the rise of a new managerial class, and the possibility that this class, led by revolutionary intellectuals, would establish totalitarian regimes based on its monopoly over material production and over the production of knowledge as well. The other set of issues had to do with the crisis of Western culture and the tradition of Protestant individualism. Unfortunately, Orwell tended to confuse the question of what was to replace capitalism with the question of what was to replace Christianity.

On several different occasions, he argued that the "basic problem of our time is the decay of belief in personal immortality," or, in another formulation, that the "real problem of our time is to restore the sense of absolute right and wrong when the belief it used to rest on—that is, the belief in personal immortality—has been destroyed." In an essay written in 1940, he wrote that modern man had lost his soul without even missing it, adding that "amputation of the soul isn't just a simple surgical job, like having your appendix out. The wound has a tendency to go septic." The "real problem" of the modern world, accordingly, was how to "restore the religious attitude while accepting death as final."

In *Coming Up for Air*, a novel published in 1939, Orwell suggested, in a slightly different vein, that earlier generations were sustained not so much by a belief in personal immortality as by the knowledge that "their way of life would continue." "It's easy enough to die if the things you care about are going to survive," says the protagonist of this book. But death becomes unbearable, he observes, in the face of the knowledge that not just "my own particular childhood, but the civilization which I grew up in...is now, I suppose, just about at its last kick."

It was this line of speculation about modern culture and religion, as much as a reading of political trends, that underlay Orwell's fear that the "autonomous individual is going to be stamped out of existence," as he put it in the 1940 essay, "Inside the Whale." Totalitarianism served Orwell, at times anyway, as a shorthand term for the collapse of liberal



# 1984:



Peter Hannan

individualism and the moral crisis of Western culture.

## Meaningless death.

1984, written when Orwell himself was dying of tuberculosis, derives its emotional power not from the political analysis Orwell borrowed from Burnham but from its dramatization of a world in which death has become unbearable because of the fear that future generations will take no interest in our affairs. This fear of a meaningless death reaches its climax in the brutal remark with which O'Brien destroys Winston Smith's last hope and the last shred of his resistance to the totalitarian state: "You must stop imagining that posterity will vindicate you, Winston. Posterity will never hear of you. You will be lifted clean out from the stream of history."

Bertrand Russell predicted in his book *Marriage and Morals*, written in the '20s, that the decline of the family and the replacement of the father by the welfare state would encourage a "certain triviality in all personal relations" and "make it far more difficult to take an interest in anything after one's own death." Many other developments have contributed to the same result: the weakening of the sense of a common public life, the emergence of a therapeutic morality that takes one day at a time and seeks to avoid looking too far into the past, and the triumph of consumerism, which fills our world with disposable goods deliberately designed to be thrown away after a few weeks or months or years of use.

It is above all modern consumer culture that makes it hard for us to take an interest in the future, by conveying to us at every turn the implicit message that the future will bear no resemblance to the past and by urging us, moreover, to squander our natural resources and energy supplies without any reference to the needs of future generations.

We live today in a curiously insubstantial world, a world of images and abstractions in which organized expertise has replaced practical experience and images of things have become more vivid than things themselves.

It is significant that two of the early theorists of totalitarianism, Arendt and Orwell himself, regarded this insubstantiality of the external world, this unreality of the future, as an important source of the crisis of Western culture. "The things of the world," Arendt wrote in *The Human Condition*, "have the function of stabilizing human life, and their objectivity lies in the fact that...men, their ever-changing nature notwithstanding, can retrieve their sameness, that is, their identity, by being related to the same chair and the same table."

Orwell's reflections on this subject revolve around the concept of common sense, to which he gives a double meaning. Common sense is the experience we have in common, and it embodies the common people's empirical knowledge of things rather than the abstractions invented by intellectuals.

For Orwell and Arendt, totalitarianism represents the final triumph of ideological abstractions over common sense. Here again, however, the danger of confusing the collapse of an older sense of selfhood with totalitarianism is that it diverts our attention from the inner history of selfhood to the external history of political systems, from the gradual erosion of individual autonomy to an apocalyptic transformation of the political order. It diverts our attention from the possibility that the sense of self is being weakened, in the West, not by the suppression of political freedom but by the inner logic of modern culture, working itself out in ways so far from melodramatic and apocalyptic that they tend to escape notice altogether.

The imagery of totalitarianism hides more than it reveals. It encourages us to

*Continued on page 22*



## EDITORIAL



'WHO AM I, DOCTOR? I MEAN, WHO AM I, DOCTOR? I MEAN, WHO AM I, DOCTOR? LIKE, I MEAN, WHO AM I, Y'KNOW? WHO AM I? TELL ME, WHO? WHO? WHO?'

With the elections over, Walter Mondale's crushing defeat will be a subject of discussion in the Democratic Party and on the left for some time. Without rehashing the reasons for his defeat—or Reagan's popularity—one thing should be noted and its implications considered: whatever Mondale's weaknesses and limitations, to Democratic voters he was the most attractive of the available candidates, and to leaders of labor and the women's movement he was the only realistic choice.

Conservative Democrats like Ernest Hollings and John Glenn had nothing new to offer and little or no popular appeal. The only serious left contender, Jesse Jackson, had as his agenda the politicization of the black community, rather than an attempt to win majority support. The only candidate to promote "new ideas" was Gary Hart, who appealed to the concerns of a major constituency largely ignored by Mondale, but who turned out to appear as having only one, very old idea: he wanted to be president.

Remembering this is important, because it is all too easy to blame the Democrats' defeat on Mondale, and so avoid the necessity to come to grips with the crisis in ideas facing the Democrats in general, and the left, and especially the socialist left, in particular.

The political success of the Democrats since 1932 was based in large part on their adoption of long-time socialist ideas about Social Security, workers' compensation, recognition of labor's right to organize, large-scale public works spending and regulation of financial institutions. By the late '30s, however, it became clear that the increased levels of consumption made possible by these programs was not enough to end the Great Depression, which was finally ended by military spending for World War II.

In the post-war years, high levels of prosperity were made possible by a continuation and expansion of New Deal programs in the context of American overseas expansion, both in rebuilding Europe and in taking over former European colonies, and in increasingly high levels of Cold War military expenditures, and then spending for the Vietnam war.

But throughout these years, and, indeed, since the '20s, the development of modern technology has caused industrial investment to have a smaller and smaller effect on employment. In the late 19th century and the early 20th, industrial investment not only created more jobs in industry, but also meant a higher proportion of industrial workers in the workforce, leading many socialists to believe that industrial workers would soon be-

## What does Karl Marx have to offer the Democrats?

come a majority of the population. But by the late '20s, increased industrial investment meant more industrial workers, but no longer an increasing proportion of industrial workers in the workforce as a whole. And now, with computerization and robotization of industry increasing at a rapid rate, industrial investment actually means fewer and fewer jobs and a shrinking industrial workforce, not only relatively, but also absolutely.

This process is the major reason why levels of unemployment keep going up, even at the height of the recovery cycle. Thus, at the height of the current recovery, which probably has been passed, unemployment stood at an official 7.5 percent, and was probably much higher. For the first time in our history we face the prospect of a society with a rapidly growing permanently unemployed class—something that already exists among blacks and Hispanics and threatens to divide all of American society.

Ironically, this process that seems so threatening to us was the basis of Karl Marx's belief in the possibility of socialism. He and other 19th-century socialists believed that as more and more goods could be produced with fewer and fewer workers, society would reach a stage where there would no longer be a need for a working class as distinct from the rest of society.

With a highly mechanized system of production—what we now know as computerization—it would be possible to produce all the goods needed by a society of abundance without the necessity of a class of people who spend their lives in drudgery, Marx believed. At least this would be possible if production were planned on a socially rational basis, rather than by market forces under the control of individual owners of capital whose goal was private profit. This was why Marx, and all 19th-century socialists, believed that socialism was possible only in the most advanced industrial nations.

But things didn't work out as Marx

thought they would. Socialists took power first in pre-industrial nations, and their idea of socialism has been that of forced industrialization through central planning. This helps explain why what we know as socialist nations are highly centralized, require a high degree of social discipline and are generally hostile to democratic liberties as we know them. And it's also why Marx and all 19th-cen-

**American society is now reaching the point where the early socialists' idea of the good society is not only becoming relevant, but may be the most fruitful way of developing a practical program to solve our most pressing social problems.**

tury socialists had a much more libertarian concept of socialism.

What has all this to do with Walter Mondale and the Democratic Party, you may ask? Just this: American society is reaching the point where the early Marxian socialists' conception of the good society is not only becoming relevant, but may be the most fruitful way of developing a practical program to solve our current social problems and to move toward a more stable and humane society, both at home and in the world community of nations.

To do that, of course, socialists will need to find ways to redefine our concepts of national security, the distribution of work and the priorities of our society. This is no longer abstractly desirable, but is coming to be a practical necessity. Unfortunately, though, when socialists have thought along these lines it has usually been those socialists most remote from the political process of our nation and those least concerned with the problem of developing ideas and programs that are at once consistent with socialist principles and of practical political use. But those are the twin necessities now.

### A modest proposal.

The need for the left, then, is to find a practical political way of developing a new approach to American politics. This cannot be done in the presidential arena for many reasons, the most obvious of which is that the socialist left is all but irrelevant there, and when it participates it must be as unquestioning supporters of candidates uninterested in the left. But there are socialists and others close to them on the left who are successful politicians in all levels of government—municipal, county, state and national. These people share both the knowledge of how to get elected and a commitment to a set of ideals and principles. So it is with them that it seems logical to start.

Our proposal, therefore, is to find a way to bring together the diverse group of mayors, city council members, county officials, state legislators and members of Congress, along with those who have seriously been contesting for any such offices, to meet to discuss a new approach to American politics. We don't know how many such people there are, but it must number in the hundreds and could be determined with little difficulty. We know of many such people in a dozen states from Maine to California, and we know it would be useful to them both to discuss the larger problems of political direction and to exchange specific program ideas and other practical information.



## BLAME THE VICTIM

I AM APPALLED TO READ THE NEWS stories coming from St. Thomas, where the Democratic Party royalty have gathered to analyze the party. Speaker after speaker blamed blacks, women and the minorities for the loss of the Democrats. We have a long history of similar reasoning in education circles in trying to explain why poor children often fail in schools. It is called "blaming the victim."

The party royalty, while feasting on their lobster, should indeed look at themselves. They directed, controlled and shaped the campaigns. And they lost. Their attempt at a Yuppie campaign failed among the Yuppies.

We on the democratic left worked for the defeat of Ronald Reagan in unprecedented numbers. In several cities we had virtually to organize our own campaigns because the inept, disorganized royalty were too busy at luncheons. In fact, along with labor, we saved the campaign from a much worse "drubbing."

They controlled the candidates, the campaigns, the money and they engineered the defeat. Now to blame it on the left, the national minorities, women and "others on the fringe," is a blatant distortion. This distortion must not be allowed to become the common wisdom. The Democratic Party is controlled by a combination of forces on the center-right. Our work, both inside and outside the party, must not allow these center-right forces to determine

the parameters of debate nor to characterize the discussion from their perspective.

—Duane Campbell  
Co-chair, Anti-Racism Committee  
Democratic Socialists of America  
Sacramento, Calif.

## KNIT ONE

I'D LIKE TO SEE ITT FORGET ABOUT the left's problems for several issues and focus on those of world capitalism. Reagan aside, the system as a whole is caught at its worst crisis in 50 years. Aspects of that crisis include a frightening arms buildup, a corporate assault on union contracts across the developed West, growing racial polarization in the U.S., a staggering Third World debt crisis, uncontrollable U.S. deficits, growing economic nationalism and protectionism pitting the U.S. against Europe and Japan and a burgeoning ecological crisis—hazardous wastes contaminating our future water supplies, acid rain affecting farms and forests, banned pesticides being sold to the Third World, etc.

Where can such a flawed economic system be headed, except down the tubes? It seems one useful task that the left press could do for the next four years would be to explain that to the American people, while putting people in contact with organizing projects that are trying to tackle capitalism's many problems. By patiently knitting together a radical perspective on the system's basic bankruptcy with the accumulated wisdom of a dozen reformist movements trying to solve micro-level prob-

lems, we might eventually lay the basis for a strong anti-capitalist movement in this country.

Until then, let's leave off moaning about the "crisis in socialism." It's depressing and it doesn't help anybody do anything to solve the alleged crisis.

—Andy Feeney  
Washington, D.C.

## BIG GOVERNMENT

IT IS INTERESTING THAT IN SO MANY comments on the status of our two major political parties the Democrats are cited for being a collection of special interests that do not rise at the presidential level to a national consensus. This was precisely the observation of Sen. Eugene McCarthy in '68 and '72 when he was running for the White House and anticipated by 15 years the current criticism. But the Republicans too are equally burdened with a collection of disparate special interests. When the history of our era is written it will be seen, I think, that the Democrats gained a record for incompetence in foreign military adventures under Kennedy, Johnson and Carter that they could not live down for many presidential elections, just as Herbert Hoover did for the Republicans on domestic issues. These Democratic presidents providently got us into such adventures in which they were whipped. It is this reputation, and not the "special interest" label, that is at the heart of the Democratic slide from favor at the White House level.

What is likely to lose the White House for the Republicans in '88 and beyond is their devotion to big U.S. military government with the consequent temptation to launch similar military misadventures abroad. In '68, Nixon and Sen. McCarthy advocated some foreign retrenchment as a drawing card for a national consensus. Wisely, I think, the electorate does not want the federal government to be any bigger either domestically or internationally than is

necessary. Whichever party can make that issue its own will be winning the White House.

—Robert L. Kealy  
Milwaukee, Wisc.

## ON THE ONE HAND...

AS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST I BELIEVE everyone has civil rights, including the unborn child. Abortion, however, is a multi-faced issue and there shouldn't be a law forbidding it.

Women should be given a real choice. If a woman can't afford to eat the right foods for a healthy birth, what is the point? Poor pregnant women should be given financial aid and follow-up treatment after the birth. If she decides to bring a baby into the world that child should find the world worth coming into.

I am disgusted by the right's seizure of this issue, when the very same fringe is diametrically opposed to any kind of aid to poor pregnant mothers and children.

The left should take this issue of abortion as theirs in the name of civil rights for all.

—Edward Brinson  
Mobile, Ala.

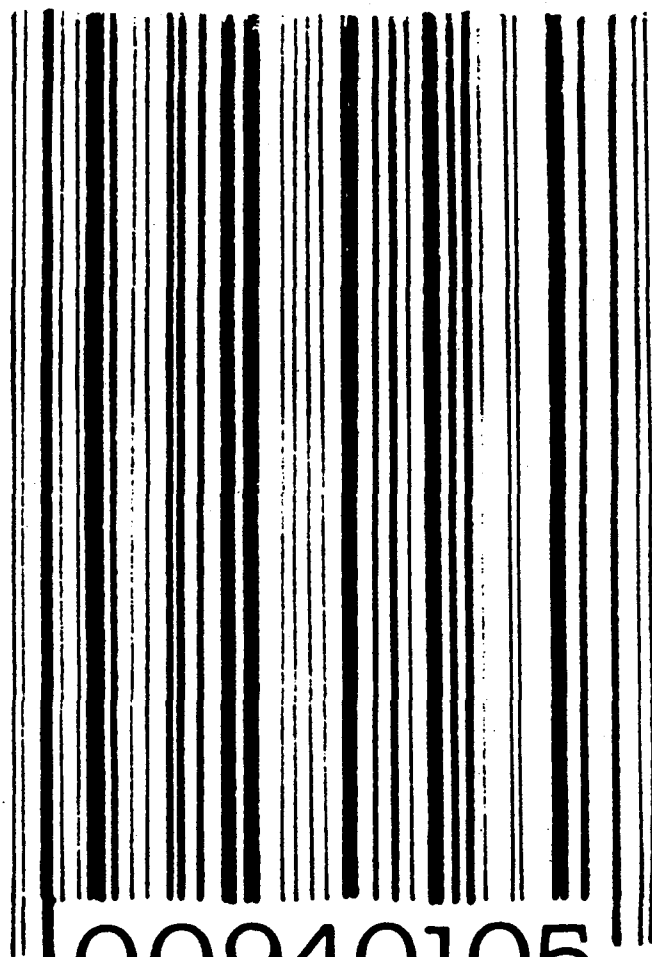
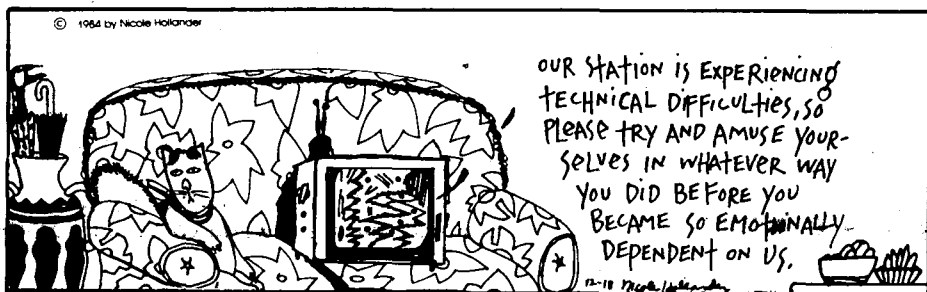
## CORRECTIONS

"Butter beats guns in LA" (ITT, Dec. 5) failed to note that the main organizer behind the successful Proposition X amendment in Los Angeles was Jobs with Peace, a national campaign to change federal priorities from military to domestic spending.

In Salim Muwakkil's centrespread on the death of Benjy Wilson (ITT, Dec. 12), the sentence "A more recent study conducted by Atlanta's Center for Disease Control found that black men between the ages of 20 to 24 had a one-in-three chance of being a victim of homicide," should have read "...black men who die between the ages of 20 to 24 have a one-in-three chance of being victims of homicide."

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

By Dave Davis and Tim Peek

CLAIRTON, PA

**P**ASTOR D. DOUGLAS ROTH HAS been barricaded inside the Trinity Lutheran Church for nine days. As the sheriff pulls up nobody can tell if this time he will arrest "the preacher of the unemployed." Roth has disobeyed a court order to vacate his pulpit, but has removed the chains from the church door. Now he says the sheriff is welcome to arrest him—but he will not leave his pulpit. For Allegheny County Sheriff Eugene Coon, this is too much. "I'm not going to arrest a minister at the altar," Coon says. But Roth's defiance has attracted too much national and international attention, so the sheriff moves in.

Coon and two tough-faced female deputies go to the sanctuary, where Roth stands at the communion rail with several union members. "Please step down? I don't intend to make a martyr of you," Coon implores.

"No," Roth replies. "My position is at the altar." With that, the two deputies handcuff Roth and lead him away.

Winding along Pennsylvania Highway 885, the sheriff's motorcade passes through the steel mill towns of the Monongahela River Valley, once the backbone of American heavy industry. Thirty years ago a quarter of a million workers produced nearly 27 million tons of steel a year. The plants operated 24 hours a day. You couldn't see the sun at noon and the sky glowed red at night. People who lived in these towns followed the American dream; they bought bungalow homes, raised families, erected legion halls, schools, churches and bars and fought for their country in three wars.

Now the dream is dying, if not already dead. As the cars top the hill that divides downtown Pittsburgh from the Mon Valley, Roth sees the glittering chrome and glass towers of U.S. Steel, PPG Industries and the Mellon National Corp., homes to another American dream.

### Changing dreams.

The struggle between two dreams, one rusting and burned out, the other distantly shimmering, put Roth in jail.

"The Valley has been devastated with long-term unemployment. Many people have literally been thrown into the street," Roth says. "They're losing their homes, their cars, their marriages and their lives because of the massive corporate evil against them. When you see that day after day over a long time and you have to deal with someone on your doorstep, you come to say somebody's got to do something about this."

The struggle that motivates Roth is the struggle between the captains of industry and its footsoldiers. As the area's corporate leadership charts a new course away from heavy industry, the rank and file have taken heavy casualties.

"They put me in jail because we've exposed the corporate evil that has destroyed so many people's lives—that's what it really comes down to," Roth says.

Roth is a member of the Denominational Ministry Strategy (DMS), a collection of some 30 ministers of all faiths in the Pittsburgh area who have resolved to fight for their unemployed parisheners. They have allied themselves with the Network to Save the Mon-Ohio Valley, a loose-knit group of militant labor unionists.

These groups are working to get back some of the 100,000 jobs lost in the early '80s. They say that corporate Pittsburgh's vision of the future doesn't include them. Roth and the others feel compelled by scripture to change that vision.

DMS was started in 1980 as a ministry program of the Western Pennsylvania-West Virginia Synod of the Lutheran Church in America. The synod wanted ministries responsive to the needs of the

area residents. So they hired Charles Honeywell from the Industrial Areas Foundation, a community organizing training center set up by the late Saul Alinsky. But now the synod leadership thinks things have gotten out of hand.

It's kind of ironic, Honeywell laughs, that the bishop who hired him is now trying to fire him. "They said they trained me to handle all situations. I didn't realize one would be them."

Honeywell and the DMS ministers started counseling youths, visiting old folks and helping patch up broken marriages. But after a while they realized that unemployment was the disease behind the symptoms they were treating.

"Two-and-a-half years ago we anticipated that unemployment would be a major problem for our parishes," says DMS leader James Von Dreele, an Episcopalian minister in Homestead. "So we started doing our priestly work, taking food and clothing to these people. Then we realized it was a structural problem, so we started to ask, 'Who's in charge here?' and found it was the banks and U.S. Steel.... A major decision has been made to destroy heavy industry, and development plans for the area don't include the working families. We say, 'Fine, that's great. Go high-tech. But somewhere, somehow, take care of these people.'"

The U.S. Steel Clairton works used to be the world's biggest producer of coke for steel mills. Now the ovens are mostly idle and employment at the plant is down by 80 percent. A shrinking tax base means the city can't meet its payroll, can't borrow and has drastically cut back services.

Clairton's central business district is all but deserted. Clumps of men gather in the remaining coffee shops and play video games. "For Sale" plays at the local theaters.

"Christ came to people and he, of course, comforted, healed," Roth says. "But then he was also very challenging. He took on the scribes, the pharisees and the moneychangers in the temple, and on down the line. If you're going to present Christ, you better do it in his fullness—not just what pleases the power structure."

### Taking on Mellon.

This view puts DMS and its allies in direct conflict with the powers that be in the Pittsburgh area. The group charges Mellon National Corp., U.S. Steel, Dravo Shipbuilding Corp. and the Lutheran-owned Passavant Health Center with ignoring the plight of the area's unemployed and trying to bust the unions. They allege that a "corporate evil empire" rules the five-county area against the interests of the people.

Mellon National Corp. is the largest bank in Pennsylvania and the 12th largest bank holding company in the U.S., with assets of \$28 billion. It has lent a great deal of money to local industries, but recently has been foreclosing on these loans as the economy has gone sour. Mellon, through interlocking directorates with other heavyweights like U.S. Steel, the Allegheny Conference on Community Development and the Cleveland Federal Reserve Board, is the area's most powerful entity.

This power is what the DMS ministers challenge. They maintain the region's woes are not the result of fate, but of a decision by those in charge to kill local heavy industry.

### The ministers' view.

John Gropp, pastor at Christ Lutheran Church in Duquesne, is picking up a food basket at a local community college to deliver to a family in his congregation, which has been hit hard by the depression in steel.

Like the other DMS ministers, Gropp has a specific idea of what is wrong in the Mon Valley. He says the area's only re-

# Pittsburgh pastor rallies victims of hi-tech visions

maintaining natural resource—its workforce is being deliberately destroyed. "First they stole the timber, then they took the coal to make the steel and now they are taking the money, exporting the area's resources to develop competing industries," he says.

"We understand economics enough to know that people are being sacrificed to profits," Gropp says. Everybody believes it's just economic development, but, as a priest, how am I supposed to believe that people ought to be sacrificed?"

For Gropp and the others, it is not enough merely to take care of the immediate needs of congregants. They feel compelled to change the structure of what they see as an unjust system. "We see a need to go beyond the traditional priestly ministry of the church and undertake a prophetic ministry," Gropp says.

Gropp takes the food to Crawford Estates, a housing project overlooking U.S. Steel's mammoth Duquesne Works. "There are 680 units here and every one

**Roth is motivated by the struggle between the "captains of industry" and its "footsoldiers." As corporate leaders chart a new course, the rank and file have taken heavy casualties.**

of them is in the same shape," he says as he unloads the brightly wrapped boxes.

Bill F. meets Gropp at the door. Big and not too old, two years without a job have turned Bill into a nervous, whipped man. "Bill used to be solid," Gropp said afterward. "But it just sort of eats at you."

Bill, his wife and their two kids have been scraping by on whatever they can since the mill closed. It has barely been enough. The refrigerator holds half a carton of milk. So the food is welcome. But the charity is galling.

"I was going to school under the retraining program, learning how to work on computers," Bill says. "But it was a joke. The guy running it said I'd never get a job." So Bill waits, applies for work along with the rest of the unemployed and hopes.

### Pittsburgh vision.

Like many other cities, Pittsburgh sees its future as a corporate and technological center. This vision emphasizes quality of life and an "upscale" image in which smokey skies and rough-talking unionists become a liability.

"Pittsburgh was once a real blue-collar, working town," says Mellon economist Katherine Hadden. "In the future it will be more like a normal city, a Mellon Bank white-collar center."

"Pittsburgh used to be the kind of place where you had to change your shirt

twice a day, it was so polluted. No more. It's a lot better since steel went down," she says.

Pittsburgh's leaders are betting on the service sector to save the local economy. Basic manufacturing has consistently declined, but employment in non-manufacturing sectors has recently gone up.

David Roderick, chairman of U.S. Steel, says his operation has run a \$600 million deficit in the last four years and that total steel production is down about 45 percent since 1980.

So the big decisions have already been made in the glass-walled office towers downtown. A recent Mellon Bank report forecast that the area's population would drop 6 percent to 2,139,000 in 1990, down from 2,264,000 in 1980.

The report projects that from 1983 to 1990, 24,700 new jobs will open in private services, 16,300 in trade, 6,400 in mining and construction, 3,700 in primary metals and 2,200 in manufacturing. There will be 179,900 fewer jobs in heavy industry in 1990 than in 1957—a peak steel production year. Of these, 88,100 disappeared from 1979 to 1983.

"We're not going to leave the Mon Valley behind," says W. Lee Hoskins, senior vice president and chief economist for PNC Financial Corp., one of the area's larger banks. "But there are going to be some reallocations. That leaves out the human factor, which is important because it will affect the outcome.... The question is what to do about this change that has left a lot of people out."

The problem with this new economy is that service sector jobs are often inappropriate for someone like Bill F. He probably won't find a place in the new Pittsburgh, says Hadden. "Someone 45 years old is never going to get into high tech. Fifty thousand people are not going to get re-employed." Even if they do get the jobs, how much good is \$3.35 an hour for an ex-steel worker who used to make \$8 an hour plus overtime, Von Dreele asks.

This is the heart of the conflict—there is no place for 100,000 unemployed mill hunkies in the "new" Pittsburgh. "The day of the unskilled laborer with a fifth-grade education is gone," says John Joseph, a retired Clairton works foreman. "These people have to adapt. Animals must adapt or die."

In his more candid moments even Pittsburgh's mayor, Richard Caliguiri, will admit there are people who won't share in the city's renaissance. "I'd rather have fewer people with high incomes than more people with relatively lower earning and spending power," he told the *Los Angeles Times* in 1980.

But to attract the upscale young professionals that everybody wants so badly, Pittsburgh will have to change its smoke-stack image.

So now the slogan is, "Pittsburgh, the City with a Smile," and big, bright billboards are plastered throughout the Valley. "It's like they want to deny we ever existed," says one mill worker.

DMS and Network, out to abort this new image, do not run a typical community organizing campaign. But their numbers are small and they have not made many friends.

A recent editorial by the Greensburg *Tribune-Review* said, "Charles Honeywell, a camp follower of Marxist Sol Lenowitz (sic), has infected some Lutheran pastors in this region with an ideological disease. The Rev. John Gropp of Du-





## UNEMPLOYMENT

quesne, the Rev. Douglas Roth of Clairton, and the Rev. James Von Dreele of Homestead have become his apostles of class hatred.... All those who oppose them are sinning, capitalistic pigs. And these 'pigs' deserve to have their worship services disrupted and their banks invaded by vandals."

People often ask Roth and the others why they don't just sit down and talk about the problems like reasonable people. "We've tried talking," says Roth. "They say dialog and we've dialogued. But nothing's come of it. The only time there's ever any real progress is when you present things in such a way that they have no choice but to deal with you."

"Basically, the trouble started when we went after the banks in 1983," Roth's wife, Nadine, recalls. "The groups asked the bank to start using its loan policy to invest in the Mon Valley rather than in industries overseas. It didn't work."

Next, Roth and the others asked area residents to put their accounts in banks that invest in the local economy. According to DMS they got more than \$10 million withdrawn from Mellon.

The group then took more direct action against the bank. Pickets, protests and confrontation are now a mainstay of DMS and Network activity. Their goal is to pressure Mellon, U.S. Steel and other corporations into working out a development plan that includes the Valley.

As the ministers more actively challenged city leaders, they came under increasing pressure from their congregations and superiors.

Today, few of Roth's original congregants remain at Trinity. According to

Mary Gahagen, a former member of the church council, they left slowly, two by two, as they tired of hearing Roth preach about the evil corporate empire and the problems of the unemployed.

Gahagen, a 30-year church member whose husband retired 12 years ago from the Clairton mill where he was a foreman, leads the opposition to Roth. She owns a home overlooking the Valley at Clairton, lives on a pension and values decorum in her church. Her two sons are Lutheran ministers, one in Philadelphia and the other in Cleveland.

Gahagen says Roth, DMS and the Network don't represent the unemployed. They're just troublemakers.

"Roth just made people angry," she says. "He just doesn't have any social graces. He's from Nebraska."

Gahagen contends Roth packed the congregation with union militants and other sympathizers to wrest control of the church. She says Roth railroaded a church budget to gain funding for DMS, even though the congregation opposed it.

So Gahagen petitioned the synod leadership for Roth's dismissal. About half of the original congregation supports her. But Roth is not giving in. "You can't stop a ministry here," he says. "The prophetic ministry of going after the evil simply must be allowed to continue to work."

Relations between Roth and his bishop, Kenneth May, came to a head this fall. On October 17, May and the synod council suspended Roth and ordered him to vacate the pulpit. He refused and was suspended from all pastoral duties effective October 26. Supported by DMS and

the new members that his ministry had attracted, Roth stood fast. The bishop then went to the civil authorities and got a court order November 2. But Roth ignored it, barricading himself in the church. He was then tried *in absentia* and found in contempt of court. Four days later Roth was arrested and jailed.

### Stalemate.

Now, the situation is at a standoff. Bishop May has vowed to return the church to its rightful members and DMS and the Network say they will hold the pulpit open for Roth's return.

From jail Roth delivers a taped message to his congregation every Sunday and he prepares a sermon for his wife to deliver. He says he will return to continue with his ministry, regardless of the bishop's action.

On Sundays, Roth's designated replacement, the Rev. Mont Bowser, pulls up in his car, which is smeared with red paint, and Gahagen goes over to meet him with her latest petition to the bishop. Bowser, a shy man with greying black hair, heads toward the church.

Harry Dinkle, a 30-year congregation member, comes out and blocks the front door. "I'm sorry, but you won't be preaching today," he tells Bowser.

Bowser, locked out every Sunday since Bishop May sent him, stands there for a moment and then walks away.

Inside, the church is filled with union members who have recently joined. Aevil Gogots, a 29-year congregant, thinks it's great. "They don't swear as much now," she says, pointing to the burly steel workers.

**Pastor D. Douglas Roth was arrested for disobeying a court order to vacate his pulpit.**

In the first row of pews Ron Weisen, president of the USW local 1397, sits in a brown double-knit suit with an open collar. Other unionists sit next to him.

They walk to the altar for the sacrament. Weisen kneels, puts the bread in his mouth, says a short prayer and gulps down the wine by throwing his head back like he's drinking a shot of whiskey.

"The unions and the church—that's the most powerful coalition," Weisen says later. Weisen, a union militant, is one of several local presidents who formed the Network to Save the Mon-Ohio Valley in 1982, when the DMS ministers applied for federal disaster aid for the Valley.

Weisen and other local union leaders are in as much trouble with their hierarchy—the USW international—as Roth and the DMS ministers are with theirs. They are viewed as troublemakers and crackpots, not reformists. But Weisen sees the union's national leaders as partners in the plan to move steel out of the Valley. He says the union leadership has given up on steel and is spending its energies organizing in other areas.

The Network's concerns are similar to those of DMS; they want reinvestment in the steel industry. One proposal asks the government to work with the unions and the companies to bring new continuous casting technology into the area.

Weisen and other Network unionists are the muscle behind the preachers. "We consider ourselves terrorists," Weisen smiles. But these terrorists have a strange alliance with the church. While the unions have brought physical strength to the struggle, the ministers have provided a moral underpinning and a way to channel that strength.

The ministers have agitated the community by condemning those in power, but the Network has enraged it. With the preachers' cooperation, the unionists have waged a war of public humiliation against Mellon Bank and the others.

Last fall, Network activists staged a "penny action" at two Mellon branches, withdrawing hundreds of dollars in pennies and dropping them on the floor. Earlier, they had stuffed frozen fish in the bank's safe deposit boxes; the bank had to close while dozens of boxes were drilled to find the fish.

The Network has sprayed banks and corporate offices with skunk oil, and published the names of bank and steel executives in sex magazines around the country. It also regularly disrupts their church services.

The local media and officials have repeatedly denounced these acts of "terrorism," but Weisen and others say, "You ain't seen nothing yet."

"Everybody gets bent out of shape about a little skunk oil," steelworker Mike Bonn says. "But that's just kid stuff. Right now the fuse is burning down and pretty soon the dam is going to burst and people are going to go boffo."

Dale Whorton, a 32-year-old steel worker, out of work for three years, is one with a short fuse. He smeared shaving cream on Rev. Bowser's face at Trinity one Sunday morning. He's destroyed local corporate heads' property. And he says, as do other unionists, this battle could get rough. But so far Whorton's anger has been put to good use by DMS and the Network. "They've changed our attitudes," he says of the ministers. "We're more patient now."

Besides acting as the shadowy chief of security for DMS and Network—he's the one responsible for keeping control of Trinity Lutheran—Whorton runs the union's food bank.

"I used to be into drugs, all sorts of illegal activities, but the church changed that," Whorton says, grinning. "Rev. Von Dreele took me on as his personal mission. He reached into the gutter and fished me out. I used to joke that while I was doing all that I never had any trouble with the police—since I joined the church I've been arrested three times." ■



## PERSPECTIVES

# PLO seeks peace, says Israeli leader

By John P. Egan

**I**F ISRAEL HAD A PRIME MINISTER who said, quite plainly, "Look here, we have to deal with the Palestinian question, and forget all the other nonsense," then there could be progress toward peace, Israel Knesset member and former general Matti Peled asserted in an interview at the end of November.

Peled is a member of the Progressive List for Peace (PLP), a mixed Arab and Jewish political party in Israel that won two seats in the Knesset elections last July. Since then, Peled and his partner in the PLP, Palestinian lawyer Muhammad Mi'ari, have embarked on an ambitious legislative agenda that has focused on the need for Israel to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Peled said that many Israelis were stunned to hear PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's recent call for convening an international peace conference, under the aegis of the United Nations, to discuss the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. However, Peled, who has met Arafat on several occasions, said that the PLO leader had been calling for this type of conference for some time. The difference now is that Arafat made the call at the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the Palestinian de facto parliament-in-exile, which met in Amman, Jordan, at the end of November. The proceedings of this meeting were carried by Jordanian television, and because Israelis can receive Jordanian television, were themselves able to see and hear Arafat's call for a peace conference.

*Matti Peled, a former IDF general, supports the Palestinian call for a West Bank state. He sees the U.S. and Israeli governments as the main obstacles.*

The Progressive List for Peace evolved out of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (ICIPP), created in the mid-'70s. It also called for negotiations between Israel and the PLO, aimed at the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The ICIPP also believed that the essence of the Middle East conflict was the struggle between Israel and the Palestinian people, not between Israel and the Arab world.

Peled can generally count on two questions when he speaks before an American audience: (1) Won't the creation of a Palestinian state be the first step toward the destruction of the state of Israel? and (2) If the Palestinians are serious about wanting peace and co-existence with Israel, where is the Palestinian equivalent of Peace Now? (Peace Now is the centrist Israeli protest movement; it has, on several occasions, mobilized a hundred thousand or more Israelis to protest against

the Likud government's policies, particularly the invasion of Lebanon. In late September 1982, Peace Now sponsored a demonstration of 400,000 Israelis that called for an inquiry into Israel's responsibility for the mid-September massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Beirut refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.)

Peled dismisses as "nonsense" the argument that the creation of a Palestinian state will lead to the future attempt to destroy Israel. Real security problems will exist when the Palestinian state is created, he conceded, "but too many Israelis are concerned with unreal and nonexistent security problems. ...Once we begin negotiations [with the Palestinians], the security problems will be far less complicated than other problems," he said.

## Americans' questions.

When in America, Peled frequently speaks to Jewish groups, and he responds to their often anxious tone of questioning by asserting that Israel's only hope for real peace and security lay in initiating serious discussions with the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—the PLO. Peled, a former general in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), holds that the military strength of the Palestinian state proposed in Walid Khalidi's article in *Foreign Affairs* in 1978 "would pose no threat to Israel's security."

To the question, "Where is the Palestinian Peace Now?" Peled says that "if the argument is made seriously, then it shows ignorance. I sometimes don't think this argument is made seriously, because I can't believe people can be that ignorant."

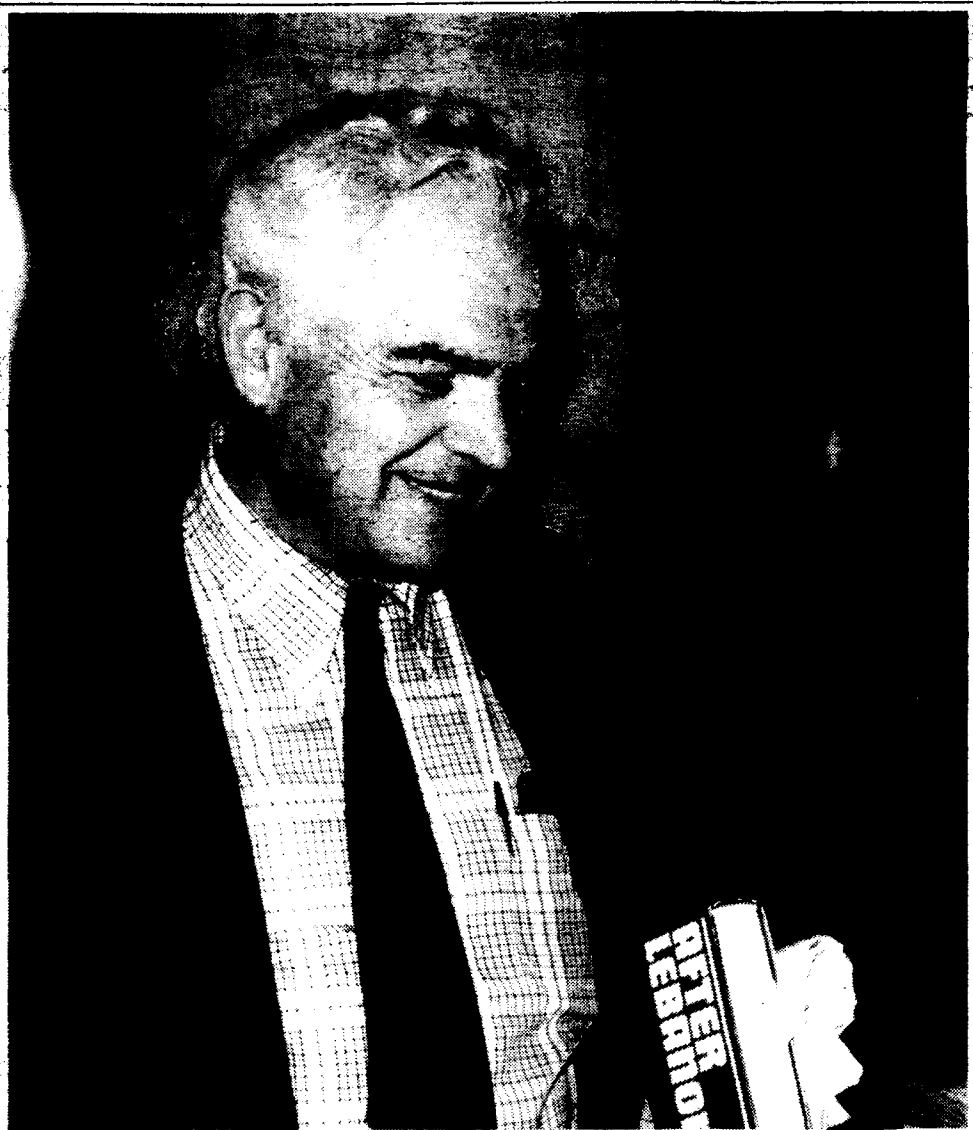
Peled was born in Haifa, Palestine, in 1923, went to high school in Jerusalem and served in the IDF from 1947 to 1968. He was military governor of the Gaza district after the 1956 war between Israel and Egypt, and was on the IDF General Staff during the 1967 war. After his military career, Peled obtained a Ph.D. in Arabic literature from UCLA and went on to become chairman of the Department of Arabic Literature at Tel Aviv University.

## Palestinian literature.

Peled has studied Palestinian literature, and said that "recent Palestinian literature, since about 1970 or so, is of a high quality precisely because it is written with a greater awareness of the nature of the confrontation [between Israelis and Palestinians], and of that confrontation's inherent tragedy." Peled emphasized that the confrontation was a tragedy because "the Israelis are human, and the hardships they inflicted on the Palestinians were inflicted by human beings, not by demons." A national literature that understands a political opponent is still a human being, not a demon, "signifies a more realistic approach to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians." Moreover, Peled asserted that such literature is "more worthy of critical study."

Peled held that this recent trend in Palestinian literature has not been mirrored in Israeli literature: "in Hebrew literature, the Palestinian is still the demon. ...[Hebrew literature] shows no readiness to recognize in the Other—the Palestinian—a human being, albeit an adversary. To use Martin Buber's terminology, Palestinian literature is capable of treating the Israeli as a 'you,' whereas Israeli literature still treats the Palestinian as an 'it.'"

During the early '70s, changes in Palestinian politics followed changes in Palestinian literature; in particular, Peled saw



Matti Peled, once Israeli governor of the Gaza district, is now a peace leader.

a greater willingness on the part of some members of the PLO to seek an accommodation with Israel. These PLO pragmatists generally belonged to the Fatah branch of the PLO; they argued that other successful national liberation models of the 20th century, notably Algeria and Vietnam, were of a significantly different nature than the confrontation between Israelis and Palestinians, and for a variety of reasons, these PLO pragmatists urged the PLO to open negotiations with Israel.

This line of thinking received a certain official approval at the 1974 PNC meeting, where it was accepted that an independent Palestinian state would be set up in the West Bank and Gaza. Another resolution, passed at the same PNC meeting, held that armed struggle was *one means among several* to be used in securing this state. Given that Palestine had been destroyed in 1948 by the creation of Israel, serious observers of Palestinian politics argued that this was as far as the PLO could go publicly until they received assurances that their efforts would not be in vain, that the Israeli and American governments would be willing to negotiate with the PLO. Peled and other Israelis understood the dynamics of Palestinian politics, and they set up the ICIPP. The ICIPP's slogan is "There is someone to talk to, and there is something to talk about."

Recently, Jamal Surani, a member of the Executive Committee of the PLO, the de facto cabinet of the PNC, said he was willing to work with anyone who is "against aggression, racism, expansionism, imperialism, U.S. imperialism and intervention in our homeland." To those who support these principles, Surani said, "It doesn't make any difference whether he calls himself a Zionist, or anything else." Surani also said that as long as these principles included the "inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, their rights to self-determination and statehood, then I don't care what Zionism means to him, or to me."

Peled said that he basically agrees with Surani's position, and adds that Zionism has been made into "a kind of banner, or rallying cry, ...to be used for purposes I completely deplore." Peled described himself as a Zionist, but said that to many Israelis, presumably including himself, "being a Zionist is tantamount to being a patriot, to being dedicated to the country and its continued existence. But my brand of Zionism has no implications beyond the right of the state of Israel to exist in prosperity, where it is, and to be accepted by its Arab neighbors."

In addition to Surani's statement, Peled pointed to other recent acts that bolster the argument that the PLO is actively seeking peace. During the spring of 1984, Muhammad Milhem, the exiled mayor of the West Bank village of Halhoul, toured the U.S. with Mordechai Bar-On, a Peace Now activist who was subsequently elected to the Knesset. During the speaking tour, Milhem explicitly and repeatedly called for the creation of a Palestinian state alongside of, not instead of, Israel. Milhem was appointed to the Executive Committee of the PLO during the recent PNC meeting in Amman; while it is unclear whether this appointment was related to Milhem's speaking tour in the U.S., it is certain that Arafat was aware of Milhem's views.

Also, during the spring of 1984, Yasir Arafat made several statements endorsing the idea of an international peace conference, convened under the aegis of the UN, to which all interested parties—"the Israelis and us," Arafat repeatedly said—would be invited. At several points in these interviews, Arafat said that he wanted to recognize Israel within the framework of bilateral recognition between two sovereign states. His remarks were almost entirely ignored in the mainstream American press, and the mainstream Israeli press ridiculed Arafat's call for negotiation and peace.

Surani's statement, the appointment of Milhem to the PLO Executive Committee and Arafat's repeated call for a UN peace conference, demonstrate more clearly to Peled that the American and Israeli governments oppose peace, not the Palestinians.

I don't think there can be any middle ground on the Palestinian question, and perhaps under the present economic crisis Israel's policies toward the Palestinians will be changed," Peled said. "Israelis are beginning to recognize that there is no value in holding on to [the West Bank and Gaza]; in fact, it is a liability we can no longer afford." Peled held that Israel's economic crisis will not subside until it cuts back on some obvious political expenses—like the continuing occupation of southern Lebanon, and the colonialization of the West Bank and Gaza. Positive movement on the Palestinian question "would require a new outlook on the part of our present leaders," he said. ■

John P. Egan writes on American foreign policy and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A full-length interview of Matti Peled will appear in the Winter issue of *World Policy Journal* (vol. II, no. 2); this article was adapted from that interview.



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

By Pat Aufderheide

Along with baking Christmas cookies, hanging ornaments on the tree and having the family quarrel, going to the movies has become part of the holiday season tradition. Christmas week alone can account for perhaps a tenth of a movie exhibitor's annual take.

As you hunt for a title everyone can agree on—or a multiplex that offers enough options to divvy up the family between screens—you may think that you'll be going to a movie. But once there, you may feel you have entered into a commercial of wide-screen proportions.

The movies are selling much more than diversion these days. A film with pretensions to blockbusterdom can sell you in three ways: on the products demonstrated in the film (say, a Nike shoe), spin-off products of the film (a vinyl Sandworm from *Dune*) and the film itself, destined for repeat business on the wide screen and on your own little VCR, the hottest piece of hardware for Christmas gifts this year.

This season's offerings have been carefully crafted for your buying pleasure. Nestled into the future world of *2010*, for instance, are ads for things you can buy right now. A spaceport ad touts, "Enjoy the speed and comfort of a Pan Am space clipper with convenient nonstops to the moon and all major space stations. At Pan Am, the sky is no longer the limit."

Pan Am, along with Sheraton Hotels—which also pitches future consumers in the film—both designed radio promotions offering winners free trips to the film's premier. Apple Computer and Anheuser-Busch are also promoting the film, which features Roy Scheider using their products. (He drinks his Bud from a Mylar carton, though, while we still make do with 1984-style cans.)

The business of placing products in films is now big enough to sustain staffers in some 30 companies, even though the trade is in barter, favors and joint promotions rather than cash deals. The product-placement companies are intermediaries in sometimes-delicate negotiations. M&M execs, for instance, rejected the chance to have E.T. munch their munchies, because the script they saw made E.T. seem unappealing.

On the other hand, the Nike company didn't even object to a character in *Teachers* wearing a Nike T-shirt while confessing to having sex with a student. Promoters point out that negative images don't mean negative sales; the sunglasses that killer robot Arnold Schwarzenegger wears in *Terminator* have left the small Gargoyles company pleasantly swamped in new orders.

**Conglomerate clout.**

The movies also create the opportunity to invent whole new products. The model may be Warner's multi-product promotion of *Superman* (the book, the movie, the comic, the toy), in which Warner flexed virtually every arm of its conglomerate entertainment empire. With movie studios increasingly owned by conglomerates, the options multiply.

The next time you see Minute Maid orange juice in a film, look for the Columbia logo. Columbia is owned by Coca-Cola, which owns Minute Maid.

Moviemakers who don't happen to have conglomerate resources auction off their imagery to licensees, who are eager to turn raincoats and nightlights into pieces of the movie action. Sometimes it can even be too much of a good thing. The Kenner company wasn't quite ready for the spectacular success of *Star Wars* when it undertook to stock the American playroom with toys modelled on the film's figures and sets.

But practice made profit, and Kenner is flourishing with Wick-et the Ewok, who is also the hero of a TV cartoon and, soon, another Lucasfilm. The *Star Wars* series has generated some \$2 billion in retail sales, and in the last year alone 50 companies have signed tie-on agreements.

If the people churning out *Conan the Barbarian* playsets and *Return of the Jedi* lunchboxes want to see your charge card, a host of service industries are looking for your spare change. Fast-food chains have found that movie magic can ring up sales, especially for the fast-food underdogs. Thanks to a special deal with 7-Up, you can get an Indiana Jones drinking glass at Wendy's and Dairy Queen, among others.

Because licensing takes place before the movie hits the marquee, it has an element of risk. Calculating on past successes, the makers of *Gremlins* designed a central character perfect for spin-offs, and before the movie was released boasted of 50 licensees. Gizmo—the synthetic creature's all-too-appropriate name—was to be the "concept" selling washcloths, backpacks, crayons, bathtub toys, air fresheners, breakfast cereal and more. And then the movie opened. Toy

*Movie-related images offer us consensus in a can, an easy way of purchasing the feeling of belonging.*

stores started cancelling orders when Gizmo turned out to be an on-screen menace and the Gremlin fad refused to take off as a popular phenomenon. Now it looks like Gremlin products will be this year's flash in the pan, not the pencil kit of the '80s.

Don't think, though, that in the rush to make 3-D objects out of screen images that filmmakers have forgotten the films themselves. The beauty of this cross-marketing, for them, is that it feeds back into the box office.

Toy marketers note that the average American five-to-10 year old has seen *Star Wars* six times. Of course, you need to start with a film that lends itself to franchised image-snacks, such as the four films that accounted for half

the summer's ticket sales: *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, *Ghostbusters*, *Gremlins* and *Star Trek III*.

The sight of a prominently displayed Dr. Pepper can in a movie scene may lead to the uncomfortable suspicion that the movies are secretly selling us something. But the news in this commercializing of the movies is exactly the opposite. They aren't secretly selling us anything. They openly tout everything: our products, ourselves.

The distinction between a product, an image and a service is being erased in our films as it is in other aspects of our lives. Indeed, if you look at economic trends, it seems almost natural.

In a period of declining industrial productivity, profits are rising in marketing and advertising. The phenomenon is international: one of the few growth areas in the Third World is in marketing.

**Brand name reality.**

Consider this possibility: if there were no money to be made by hyping products in films, filmmakers might want to do it any-

way. Those product references not only make the product part of the scenery—and therefore, by extension, a potential bit of glamor in a viewer's life as well. They also give authenticity, a casual look of reality, to the scene. In a world where brand names litter the domestic landscape, a movie without brand names could look perverse, even barren.

The brand names the characters choose, moreover, constitute a kind of character development. We size them up the same way we categorize new acquaintances on the basis of their liquor, their designer labels or choice of stereo equipment.

And if brand names bring a real-life touch to a scene, the movie's gloss may rub off on real life. That must be the logic behind a new line of nursing uniforms, modelled on that of a character in the TV show *Trapper John, M.D.* As the company puts it, "The look says fashion, the image says professional."

So the commercial touches in our Christmas movies and those shelves full of movie-licensed

merchandise may be selling more than products. They may be offering you your big chance to buy a little bit of current history.

After all, at a time when news has become "infotainment" and whole evening shows are devoted to Hollywood gossip, entertainment is national news. The little echoes of up-to-dateness in movie-related products are talismans of our own participation in our national history. It's practically patriotic to drink Pepsi from a *Star Trek II* tumbler.

With clashes over national policy direction just below the surface of every presidential press conference, movie-related images offer consensus in a can, a way of purchasing the feeling of belonging, of being part of progress without having to get into any messy arguments.

Our movie marketers have found more than a gimmick here. They are tapping a need, in the best marketing-textbook tradition. They may be playing the public like a piano, but they're beating out a tune that plenty of us want to hear.

©Pat Aufderheide

## CONSUMER CULTURE

Holiday movie tidings:  
Our products, ourselves





## JAMES WEINSTEIN

With knowledge of history out of style, and with left historians unsure of what's currently useful in the past, this is the year for biographies. My favorite this year was Gore Vidal's *Lincoln*, which makes clear Old Abe's political genius, his central role in the transformation of the U.S. into a modern capitalist nation and his deep commitment to end slavery. Elinor Langer's *Josephine Herbst* is a brilliant exploration of American left intellectuals in the '20s and '30s, of Herbst's feminist consciousness and of the political culture of the "Red Decade." And David Horowitz's and Peter Collier's *The Kennedys* is three-fourths first-rate insight into the Kennedy dynasty, though the last section on the Kennedy kids degenerates into personal gossip.

One history book, Lloyd Gardner's *Safe for Democracy, the Anglo-American Response to Revolution, 1913-1923*, is especially valuable for its information about the obsession of the Wilson administration and the Lloyd George government with containing or destroying revolutionary movements in Mexico, China and then Russia. The principles that have underlain American policy toward the Third World in this century, and the techniques used to thwart revolution, are here laid bare.

## JOHN B. JUDIS

One of the few things I liked about Amherst College in the early '60s was that it didn't have a sociology department. But

Kristin Luker, in *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, redeems this sorry discipline. Luker shows that the controversy over abortion is not simply rooted in the verities of God and women's rights, but in underlying views of the family and motherhood—even of the meaning of life—and that the pro-life movement, rather than being composed of Orange County Republicans, is largely composed of working-class Democrats who feel that they have their own "rights" to defend. Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* is the best book about Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe since Czeslaw Milosz's *The Captive Mind* and is a book that captures, as well as reflects, the current cynicism about political redemption. Stephen Ambrose's two-volume biography of *Eisenhower* rescues the good soldier from the Reaganite revisionists.

## DIANA JOHNSTONE

My favorite books this year were *The Name of the Rose* by Umberto Eco and *The Peloponnesian Wars* by Thucydides. Both offer uncannily appropriate and timely reflections drawn from past periods when, as now, things were falling apart. Thucydides counters most effectively the Cold War ideological tenet about totalitarian states being

necessarily aggressively expansionist with his reminder that Athens was democratic at home (but with slaves) while aggressively imperialist abroad. Eco's literary labyrinth leads to multiple insights on the relations between ideas and political movements. For once I read a novel through to the end.

## SALIM MUWAKKIL

Heading my list is Milan Kundera's remarkable ode to ambiguity, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. *The Oxherding Tale*, by Charles Johnson, though it was published in 1982 and received scant notice, this second novel by the Seattle novelist is accomplished and audacious. *The Autobiography of Leroi Jones* by Amiri Baraka, because his ideas provoked and animated a movement. Saul Bellow's *Him with His Foot in His Mouth*, to read a master at work. *Last Days* by Joyce Carol Oates for the same. *Brothers and Keepers*, by John Edgar Wideman, for some valuable insights on race and class. *Montgomery's Children*, Richard Perry's wry allegory, is very satisfying. *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll* for a lucid account of a cultural revolution. *Difficult Lives* by Italo Calvino for an expanded notion of what fiction can do.

## DAVID MOBERG

A few top choices from 1984 reading. On politics, laying out the reinforcing trends toward

political and economic inequity: *The New Politics of Inequality* by Thomas B. Edsall. On labor, showing the positive side of unions, limited by its liberal framework: *What Do Unions Do?* by Richard B. Freeman and James L. Medoff. Economic and social history: David Noble's revealing look at automation, *The Forces of Production*. Fiction: Umberto Eco's intriguing *The Name of the Rose*, William Kennedy's tough *Legs*, any novels by the great, neglected, out-of-print, imaginative, funny and leftist B.S. Johnson. Reference: *The Book of America* by Neil R. Peirce and Jerry Hagstrom. Diversion: *The Audubon Society Field Guide to North American Mushrooms* by Gary H. Lincoff. Most frequently read, most enjoyed: *Where's Spot?* by Eric Hill.

## SHERYL LARSON

These are troubled times, and as I paged through many of this year's books I found myself searching for answers. Three works stood out because of their hefty portions of what I consider essential ingredients in any recipe for social change: a sense of history and hope for the future. In *The Minimal Self*, Christopher Lasch convincingly fleshes out his ongoing argument about contemporary narcissism. In *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, Milan Kundera masterfully dissects the human condition, be-

traying the deceptive complexity of everyday experience. And in *Has Modernism Failed?*, Suzi Gablick perceptively analyzes the movement that has shaped 20th-century culture, ending with the provocative suggestion that the final lesson of modernism may be no more than this: "that we need a fruitful tension between freedom and restraint."

## EMILY YOUNG

The most powerful book I read this year that I found myself recommending over and over again was Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. In its lowest common denominator it's a complex who-dun-it mystery about dead monks. But its brilliance and imagination are as an historical and political novel. It recreates the life and worldview of 14th-century Italian monks. In doing so the book illuminates a period in the history of Christianity and its relationship to popular movements and provides a wonderful example of a moment in history when "the world was turned upside down." But at its base, Eco's book is about the relationship between power and knowledge—an understanding essential for contemporary politics.

There has been a lot of fiction written by women this year—some of which I liked, some I didn't. But I found myself returning to an old favorite whose daring women characters never cease to amaze me—Colette. For





this reason I appreciated **The Collected Stories of Colette** (now in paperback) for its new compilation of the best of that master's short stories.

#### BETH MASCHINOT

Frida Kahlo, born "near the beginning of the Mexican revolution," reconstructed an image of herself in a series of self-portraits: Frida the childless woman wanting children, Frida impaled by physical pain, Frida adored and betrayed by her husband Diego Rivera. She and her self-portraits are colorful and at times macabre and masochistic, yet always with a strange vibrancy. In **Frida: A Biography of Frida Kahlo** Hayden Herrera has written a solid historical biography, with rather weak psychologizing and 35 color plates of Frida's paintings. And this year it's affordable in paperback. **Our Right to Choose** by Beverly Harrison argues for a moral understanding of abortion based on women's rights. This idea isn't groundbreaking, but the fact that she bases her moral system on Christian precepts is. This is an attempt to retrieve a serious moral issue from the moralizing of the right.

#### PAT AUFDERHEIDE

Many of the significant books of 1984 lie, along with some of the best of 1983, still unread in my house. This is primarily the fault of E.F. Benson, whose

Lucia novels, classic light fiction of English manners, have taken over my life. I could say they are secretly savage anthropology, or a premature case against Yuppie high-culture lust, but the Lucia-philos would only snort. Try them for yourself.

Before Lucia, however, there were great treasures. Fred Jameson's "The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" in the *New Left Review* is heavy reading, but worth it. It offers a way out of despair over the junky quality of our unremitting pop cultural deluge. In fiction, Gore Vidal's *Lincoln* gave me history to understand my present, and that was enough for me to forgive a sloppy assembly; at least Vidal knew how to read the documents, and which story to tell with them. In nonfiction, I learned much from Freeman Dyson's *Weapons and Hope*, not least because he could make me see how the Russians understand the threat of nuclear war. For reference books, *World View 1984*'s only rival is *World View 1983*. Among essays, John Berger's *And our faces, my heart, brief as photos*, is a book to live with, even to confront one's mortality with. It must have been hard to write, but it is hypnotically compelling to read, a book that abolishes the anxiety of small loneliness. And here as always, Berger makes the case

for art as a necessity of our species' survival.

#### MILES DECOSTER

My best books list is topped by two works of fiction, *The War of the End of the World*, a novel by Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa, and *Cathedral*, a collection of short stories by American writer Raymond Carver. Llosa uses a multi-faceted narrative technique, reordering historical chronology in an innovative way. Other books of note: two biographies, *John Maynard Keynes* by Charles Hession and *Dashiell Hammett, A Life*, by Diane Johnson. The Keynes portrait is more complete than previous biographies. Written by a former economics professor, it contains intelligible condensations of Keynes' economic theories and their academic context. It also explores the intricacies of Keynes' personality. The Hammett biography is more complete than other biographies because it focuses on his political life. Two economics books I would recommend for a non-economist like myself, *Dangerous Currents*, by MIT professor Lester Thurow, and *The World's Money*, by Michael Moffitt, an associate fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies. Together they provide an overview of the current domestic and international economic crisis. A different kind of economics book is Fernand Braudel's three-volume opus *Civilization & Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, the third volume of

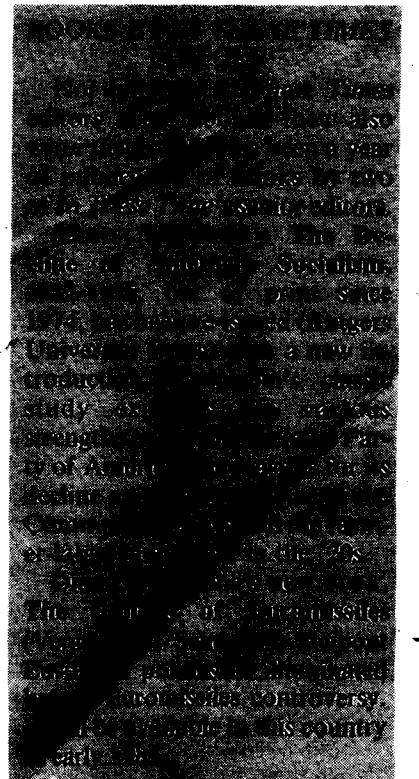
which appeared in 1984. *The Perspective of the World*, like the two previous volumes, deals in massive detail with the economic life of Europe during the transformation from a feudal to a capitalist society.

#### JOAN WALSH

A 1940s wedding picture adorned the cover of *Sweethearts*, Jayne Anne Phillips' first collection of stories in 1976. Presumably her parents', the photo cued the reader into the preoccupation of Phillips' fiction: her parents' lives, especially their strange, unhappy marriage. A child of the '60s, a decade of social and political movements that deepened the natural generational divide, Phillips crosses that chasm repeatedly in her stories to look at how it felt to grow up when boundaries were clearer, duties were defined, social roles predetermined and suffering to be expected. Her first novel, *Machine Dreams*, published this year, is one family's story, weaving together chapters about mother and father, daughter and son. It manages to be "about" love, feminism, Vietnam and guilt without the moralizing or heavyhandedness that usually grounds socially conscious fiction. On the other hand, she offers no way out of the constrictions she creates so well, especially the ones separating men and women: men have autos, airplanes, war and loneliness; women have their mothers and daughters and something harder to put on paper.

Gore Vidal's *Lincoln* is a great mystery novel, even though we

already know how it ends. The mystery is Abraham Lincoln—who is he, what is he going to do and can he really be as stupid as everyone in the novel seems to think. Vidal does a wonderful job of depicting a person in reaction to history, and though the book is permeated by his trademark political pessimism, his subject occasionally inspires him to transcend it. The fact that it's not terribly well written somehow makes it fun to read: it moves along like a supermarket historical novel and doesn't seem like something one ought to be reading.





# Salvador

Continued from page 11

the rebels wanted "the total destruction of the armed forces. An attitude like that would set the army and the government against each other, since the army would never accept a situation like that."

From the outset, Duarte has tried to define the dialog process as his initiative, when in fact the opposition had regularly proposed negotiations since 1981. The Salvadoran government and the U.S. came up with elections as an alternative to negotiations and have consistently demanded that the guerrillas surrender and participate in elections.

At the peace talks, Guardado correctly pointed out that Duarte's dramatic UN speech and the subsequent talks were a response to the rebels' longstanding offer to talk. Duarte's new peace proposal is the same offer to allow the guerrillas to surrender. The only new elements are some elaborated procedures such as amnesty and safe-passage guarantees.

Duarte's widely recognized obsession with his own ideas prompted some European journalists to comment after the second talk that Duarte seemed to want a monologue more than a dialog. His "we'll do it my way" attitude, which he justified by referring to his limits under the constitution, prompted Archbishop Rivera y Damas, who mediated the talks, to say that dialog involves give and take on both sides.

Although at present it seems clear that Duarte is constrained by both the army and the U.S., he can often be unpredictable, so the right-wing private sector is justifiably nervous.

Traditionally allied with the Conservative Party, the private sector supported ARENA in the recent election, and many considered Duarte a Communist. But since his election Duarte has made substantial concessions that have won, if not the private sector's support, then at least their

passive collaboration. The concessions consisted chiefly of passing certain products to the parallel market. (For example, cotton growers would get four colones for a dollar's worth of cotton sold instead of the official rate of 2.5.)

Duarte's access to U.S. credit cemented the deal. "The private sector saw that with Duarte's international connections and especially his ability to get money from the U.S., they would benefit," one analyst told *In These Times*.

Still, an implicit understanding existed between the private sector and Duarte. They wouldn't try to destabilize the government as long as Duarte didn't institute further reforms or have anything to do with the rebels. He would also have to promote measures to benefit the private sector.

The U.S., chiefly through the Agency for International Development (AID), pressured the Duarte government to accept "realistic" economic programs that turned out to be almost identical to the traditional International Monetary Fund (IMF) prescription for sick economies—cutting government spending and improving the balance of payments. It was a traditional austerity program, where the cost of recovery is borne by the population at large while the private sector receives incentives to raise production and earn the foreign exchange for the country. Cotton and sugar were transferred to the parallel market—a de facto devaluation—and the guaranteed price to growers was increased on those two products as well as coffee, "a direct response to pressure from AID," the analyst said.

Yet basic differences remain between Duarte and the private sector. His populist base rests on the promises of reforms—reforms that the private sector hopes won't ever be implemented. Although agrarian reform had been halted, and cooperative and small agrarian reform beneficiaries were "choking from the lack of credit" from supposedly reformed, nationalized banking institutions that in fact maintained the traditional credit criteria, the right wanted to go further and

roll back the reform.

Until the first peace talk, the coexistence between the private sector and Duarte continued, but dialog raised threats to the basic understanding. A peace accord could contain agreements to deepen and expand reform or restructure the army, the traditional guarantor of the interests of the private sector. Even without an accord, Duarte's manipulation of the peace issue could win him the Assembly, and could quickly bring to a halt any reformist urges Duarte may have.

## 1984

Continued from page 13

ask whether the welfare state shows signs of turning into a police state, when we might better ask whether political freedom any longer has much meaning if it serves only to make possible the "private enjoyment of life."

Philip Roth has aptly remarked of the contrast between eastern Europe and the West, "In the West everything goes and nothing matters; there, nothing goes and everything matters." If this puts the contrast too sharply, it still alerts us to the danger that individual autonomy, as Orwell called it somewhat misleadingly—that is, the capacity for moral judgment and self-regulation, the capacity for self-sacrifice, the willingness to accept the consequences of one's actions—can be weakened as effectively by the empty freedom of consumerism as by dictatorship and regimentation.

I do not mean to minimize the importance of political freedom or the forces that threaten it. But political freedom itself rests on a sense of selfhood that is growing more and more difficult to sustain. The conclusion prompted both by a review of the early theory of totalitarianism and by a consideration of recent cultural developments is that consumerism and the new sense of selfhood encouraged by consumerism are more pressing issues in 1984, at least in the West, than the future of political freedom.

The greatest danger we face is not so much the decline or collapse of political freedom as the gradual weakening of its cultural and psychological foundations. The situation is not Orwellian in the usual sense, and a focus on 1984, the year and the novel, does very little to clarify it unless it helps to recall some of the underlying preoccupations behind the early theory of totalitarianism: the collective crossing of a hitherto unapproachable moral barrier, signified by the death camps; the decline of the guilty conscience; the collapse of a public world; the amputation of the soul.

It was Orwell's insight into the slow death of the spirit, not his apocalyptic fantasy of total terror, that marked him as a prophet; and we can best commemorate him by addressing ourselves to the work of moral and spiritual renewal instead of diverting ourselves with the prospect, at once terrifying and titillating, of unlimited political power.

Christopher Lasch's most recent book is *The Minimal Self: Psychic Survival in Troubled Times* (reviewed in the December 12 issue of *In These Times*). A different version of this article first appeared in *Salmagundi*, a quarterly published by Skidmore College. Reprinted by permission of the author.

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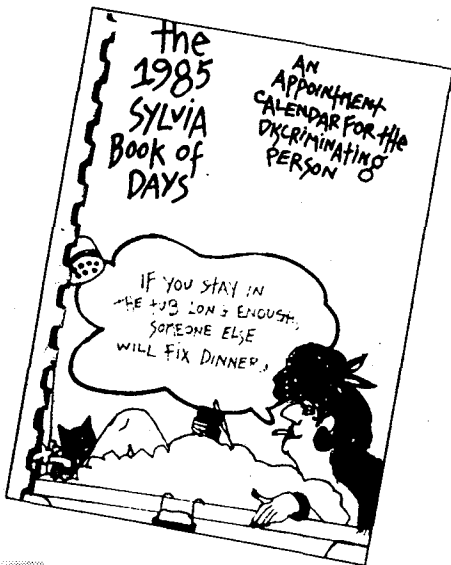
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# Primitive

Continued from page 24

own fantasies, fears and theories on these alien cultures, even when they used them to criticize European ways. In the dominant popular view, primitives were seen as close to nature or crude and evolutionarily undeveloped, as at best first steps toward true (European) humanity.

Yet there was another, long tradition—dating at least to Jean-Jacques Rousseau—that saw primitives as truer, more human, less corrupted. As they were understood more in their own terms, it was clear that neither view was correct: they were products of distinctive experience but equally if differently "cultured."

In searching to understand themselves through an alien other, artists often identified with the primitive, or their fantasy of the primitive. Gauguin, who retreated first to Breton peasantry and then Tahiti, incorporated his imagery of primitive life without having his own approach to painting altered much by them.

But for Picasso and some of his contemporaries primitive art had a more startling impact, although Picasso later in life tried to minimize or deny that. William Rubin argues that it was less the imagery of primitive art than the ideas it expressed about how to create works of art that was important.

Primitive works had the impact they did when they did, he writes, because artists were re-examining the assumptions of western art based on illusionism and the attempt to reproduce visual perceptions of the world. It is not at all coincidental that assumptions of naive empiricism in physics and philosophy were also in tur-

moil at the same time.

This self-consciousness about art, perception, self and society that was a hallmark of the modern era in the west meant that art was becoming more conceptual, Rubin argues. For example, Picasso looked at a Grebo mask from Africa and saw how the artist represented eyes not as holes in the head but as protusions. That inspired him in one of his pathbreaking sculpture constructions to make the sound hole of a guitar stick out also.

In a sense, Picasso realized that the conventions of perceptual, realistic painting were parts of a system of signs and meanings, not a natural, inevitable, singularly legitimate approach; art could be based on other, perfectly coherent and meaningful systems of different signs.

Throughout the catalog and exhibits, there are examples of tremendously varied ways in which Western artists responded to primitive art. (Now the term has lost much of its pejorative sense and has simply come, for lack of a better term, to refer to art of classless societies.) Some portrayed such works in their own paintings. Others took very direct inspiration for sculptures, painting or other work. For others the inspiration was more indirect or filtered (and nearly always involved little accurate information about the cultural context of the art).

Picasso claimed that for him the beloved primitive works he collected (most of which were not masterpieces but still gave him the ideas he wanted) were "more witnesses than models." And Rubin shows how many of the possible masks suggested as models for Picasso's revolutionary masterpiece, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, were not available to Picasso in 1907. Instead, for Picasso, like many other artists, there was an "elective affinity" for the problems and solutions

of primitive art, as Rubin says, borrowing from Goethe.

Indeed, Rubin writes, *Les Femmes d'Alger* owed more to Picasso's inspiration from the powerful confrontations with sexuality in African art than from its formal qualities.

The inspirations were almost as diverse as the artists, such as Matisse, the Fauves, Brancusi, German Expressionism, Modigliani, Leger, Klee, Giacometti, Henry Moore, Abstract Expressionism. The Cubists were mainly inspired by the sculptural qualities of African sculpture; Dadaists and Surrealists had a greater affinity to the more "coloristic" art from Oceania (for example, New Guinea) and America, especially the Northwest coast and the Eskimos.

These works often expressed fantasy and mythologies in ways that appealed to Europeans investigating dreams, the subconscious and the fantastic. Kirk Varnedoe argues that contemporary artists are more inspired by their readings (and misreadings) of the place of art in primitive society than by the specific character of the works.

But as artists, like other denizens of late capitalist societies, have busily embraced the multitude of perspectives and have gained in critical self-consciousness, they have lost the sense of being part of a cohesive popular cultural tradition. Art becomes ever more self-referential and obscure to many not trained in its mysteries.

The primitive artist, for all of his or her individuality and varied genius in execution, created works that integrated society and preserved tradition and collective identity—and were thus understood by all educated members of society. Post-impressionist art still largely does not have the popularity of the more realistic

IN THESE TIMES DEC. 19, 1984-JAN. 8, 1985 23 art before it in part because it has rarely been able to create the socially binding synthesis out of the dissected, examined, fragmented parts of modern life.

Picasso often achieved it, mixing old and new languages. Pop art did so slightly, incorporating modern myths and symbols. Although pop artists were not particularly inspired by primitive art, they may have done what some of the more recent artists have aspired to do—to play the role of the shaman, or medicine man, to be a healer and unifier and at the same time a critic of contemporary society.

As Varnedoe accurately observes, some of these attempts at becoming modern medicine men are inspired by contemporary left movements—anti-imperialism, environmentalism, feminism—but some carry with them ambiguously reactionary imagery as well (for example, "feminist" works emphasizing biology over culture).

Such political affinities, sometimes remote, sometimes overt, should not be surprising. After all, fascism's effort to provide a collective unity in the face of capitalist disintegration is based on exploiting old myths and fears. Socialism and, more recently, ecological thought have attempted to provide a rational synthesis out of the rationally examined—some feel overexamined—life. And capitalism itself offers a brand of individualism as a rationalization and glorification of its own fragmented social world.

Many contemporary artists seek a way of bringing back together the pieces of our self and social awareness—much of it a result of both our benign and oppressive encounters with primitive cultures—in a way that fuses reason and emotion. Much as they would like to be like the "primitive" geniuses before them, it is today a much more difficult task. ■

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Left: Pablo Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger* (O. J. R. version O); right: Mbuya (sickness) mask, Pende Zaire.

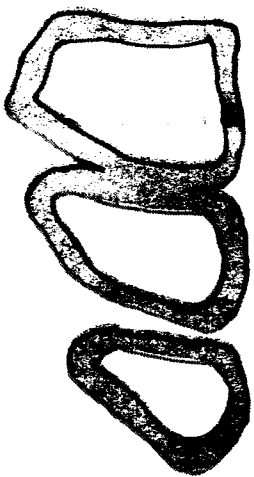


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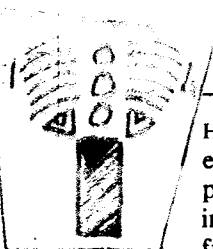


By DAVID MOBERG

NEW YORK



In searching to understand themselves through an alien other, artists often identified with their fantasy of the primitive.



THE SPIRIT OF REBELLION AND experimentation flourished in part of the Parisian art scene in 1906 and that vitality was further energized as artists

discovered a new world and a new way of looking at—or at least presenting—their own. One day Matisse, for example, impulsively bought a statue “of Negro origin” at a curio shop he often passed, then stopped by Gertrude Stein’s apartment. Picasso dropped in. It was the first time he had seen African sculpture. Later Picasso by chance wandered into the Paris ethnographic museum established a couple of decades earlier. It was, he said, an experience of “shock,” “revelation,” “charge” and “force.”

Since then the encounter of modern artists with the work of “tribal” or “primitive” arts has offered continual and varied inspiration. The Museum of Modern Art in New York has traced this history in an exhibit that is stunning, not only for the range of modern works of excellent quality and frequently even more impressive primitive masterworks but also for the revelations of links between the primitive and the modern.

After the exhibit closes in January, it will travel to Detroit and Dallas. But it has also yielded for anyone a beautiful, encyclopedic and exciting two-volume, 689-page catalog (\$80 hardcover, \$30 softcover) edited by William Rubin.

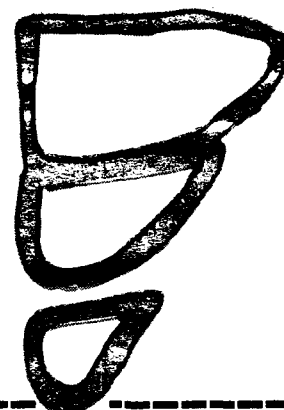
European interest in the cultures of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, as well as the complex civilizations of Asia, grew with the age of exploration but was especially spurred by 19th-century colonialism.

The encounter produced widely disparate reactions: in the main Europeans saw these new people, their ways of life and their works of art as savage, in the pejorative sense, and showed contempt for them, frequently destroying their arts in the process of subjugating them. But for others, “primitives” were a variant of the exotic, the intriguing, the novel.

The more certain Europeans tried to assimilate rather than destroy these cultures and images, the more they had to accommodate to them. That inevitably brought about a new sense of themselves and their own traditions.

Often Europeans simply projected their

*Continued on page 23*



PRIMITIVE

INSPIRATION